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Foreign Affairs Ministry Condemns Iraqi Attack

AU0308131790 Tirana ATA in English 1249 GMT 3 Aug 90

["Statement of the spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs on the military intervention of Iraq in Kuwait"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, August 3 (ATA)—The Iraqi military attack against Kuwait and the occupation of its territory is a condemnable act, the spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Albania stated today. The Iraqi act, [he] added, cannot be justified from any point of view. Never before, and moreover at the present conditions created in the world, it is impermissible to solve the contradictory problems existing among various countries through the use of force. The only way, we think, including here also the Iraq- Kuwait conflict, is that of peaceful and constructive dialogue.

The Albanian people, who are friendly with all the Arab peoples, regret that the solution of the conflicts in the Middle East is facing new obstacles. Hence, they hope that reason and wisdom will triumph in the solution of the Iraq-Kuwait disagreements. The quick withdrawal of the Iraqi military troops within their national territory and the observation of the freedom, independence and sovereignty of the State of Kuwait is an indispensable condition. Any delay may create complications with unforeseen consequences in the region and broader.

Observer Status at Vienna CSCE Talks Granted

AU0308183890 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Text] Albania has been accepted as an observer at the talks on the creation of measures of security and trust in Europe taking place in Vienna within the framework of CSCE. These talks are considering specific measures on questions of disarmament, the abandonment of the use of threats and force in relations among states, the peaceful solution of conflicts, and so forth.

Alia Greets Bulgaria's Zhelev on Election

AU0508132590 Tirana ATA in English 0805 GMT 5 Aug 90

[Text] Tirana, August 5 (ATA)—The president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Comrade Ramiz Alia, has sent the following message of greetings to the president of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Zhelyu Zhelev:

"On occasion of your election as president of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, I extend to you my greetings and wishes for successes in carrying out this high duty to the benefit of your people and country.

I express the conviction that the relations of traditional friendship between the Albanian people and the Bulgarian one as well as the cooperation in various fields between the two countries will develop non-stop."

Zhelev Addresses Nation, Cites Goals

AU0508175990 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1700 GMT 5 Aug 90

["Address to the nation" by President Zhelyu Zhelev carried on Sofia Radio and Bulgarian Television; place not given—live]

[Text] Esteemed compatriots, it is a traditionally established custom that when someone is elected head of state and takes over his office, he should address the people, the nation, to express his views and intentions for the future, that he should publicly announce all his plans for the future for which he needs the support of his compatriots.

In my case this is even more urgently required, considering the complicated and difficult circumstances under which I am taking over the post of president of the republic, and considering the difficult period our country is facing.

The economic crisis which we discussed so intensely and widely over the last months is already a fact. It is already in full swing. The state treasury is empty. The stores are also empty. Raw materials and energy are in short supply, while prices are escalating and the unemployment rate is increasing. The majority of young people who have lost their faith in the country's democratic system are looking for jobs abroad.

People with low wages and small pensions are incapable of making ends meet. We are facing a harsh winter, for which urgent measures should be adopted as early as today in order to avoid sitting in the dark at night.

The country's ecological situation is also tragic. This is not a recent fact; it is the result of a long period of time. Generally speaking, Bulgaria is experiencing a crucial economic, political, and moral crisis. The crisis, in turn, exacerbates the political tensions among different social and age groups in our society, among the ethnic communities, and among political parties. Only this crisis can explain the fact that, even today, following the first multiparty elections in our country, political tensions have not been alleviated at all, or are very slowly decreasing.

Against the background of this disturbing picture, the only thing which inspires us with some hope is the fact that, despite everything, the path we have embarked upon is correct. It is the path of parliamentary democracy.

If we are capable of following this path with success, it will certainly lead us to a happy end. Such are the hopes of all our friends and well-wishers abroad, who sincerely long to see Bulgaria develop into a prosperous and democratic state.

Why, under such circumstances, did I accept the candidacy for the post of president of the Republic?

This is by no means a rhetorical question. It is not a matter of personal choice; it is rather a question of principle. The fact that, under such extremely unfavorable conditions, the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] consented to become involved with the presidential institution should be considered, above all, as the opposition's readiness to assume responsibility, or at least a share of responsibility, for the country's fate, and not as an attempt to attain power or to take advantage of power. It should be considered a historical compromise which the united, democratic opposition is making for the sake of civic peace in Bulgaria and not as an attempt to extract compromises from the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP].

At the same time we should not regard the presidential institution simply as seizing an opportunity to gain an advantageous position for the future.

Naturally, the post of president of the republic is a major post. It is even a very important post within the system of state power that provides vast opportunities for action. Therefore, within the framework of the competences which the Constitution grants to me, I intend to optimally use the opportunities for stimulating certain processes in our country, those aimed at the prompt transformation of Bulgarian into a democratic, law-governed state.

Nevertheless, my activities shall be based solely on the Constitution and shall be implemented solely within the framework of the Constitution. I see the major trends in the work of the presidency in the following activities:

I intend to engage in active, foreign political activities aimed at providing international guarantees for the country's national security and for its territorial integrity.

We welcome the democratic changes in the Soviet Union, without which the East European processes, and especially those in Bulgaria, would have been impossible. We think that the democratic changes in both countries will make it possible to build up our interstate relations on a new basis, in a spirit of understanding, equal rights, and mutual advantage. The traditional, spiritual links between the people of Bulgaria and the peoples of the Soviet Union will thus not only remain unaffected, but, on the contrary, they will be purged of the sinister inheritance of Stalinism; they will become more sincere and more truthful.

We intend to build good-neighborly relations with all Balkan peoples by trying to make them increasingly friendly. The good relations currently existing between Bulgaria and Greece may serve as an example in this respect.

Without trying to take over the prerogatives of the future government, I intend to give priority importance to our country's opening up toward the developed Western countries from which we expect technical, technological, and educational assistance, and investments, so that our country may overcome the current crisis.

I intend to devote particular attention to the expansion of our economic relations and to the solution of the

problems related to the country's foreign debts by increasing the confidence of our creditors and by providing effective assistance for our economy.

In my role as arbiter, I intend immediately to call on the political parties in our country for intense consultations with each other aimed at overcoming the current crisis with joint efforts and for discussing the crucial problems of the country's future development.

As a first step in this direction, I think that a consultative council of the parties represented in parliament should be established and attached to the president's office.

I intend most actively to use the prerogatives granted to be me by the Constitution to abolish all legal documents and instructions of the government and of other departments which contradict the Constitution and the law. First, I would like to cancel all instructions and regulations which affect the basic human rights of our citizens.

In the very near future I intend to abolish the instruction concerning the temporary restriction of local residence permits, a document which, over several decades, distorted and deeply affected the lives of thousands and millions of Bulgarian citizens who were looking for jobs. The validity of this document, under the present circumstances, in addition to representing a disgraceful restriction of human rights, makes the introduction of a market economy into our country impossible. As in every democratic state, all Bulgarian citizens should be entitled freely and unhindered to select their place of residence and of work all over the country.

I also intend, in the upcoming days or weeks, to abolish political privileges, the privileges stemming from party or political affiliations, because such privileges make the equal rights of citizens before the Constitution and the law impossible. It is unacceptable for citizens to be divided into privileged and underprivileged classes in a country which is progressing toward democracy and social justice and which claims to be a law-governed state. A great number of other official documents exist which are related to various spheres of social and public life and which are in contradiction with the Constitutions and our laws, and they should also be abolished.

At the same time I will take advantage of my right of legislative initiative, which is granted to me by the Constitution, in order to submit draft laws to the Grand National Assembly aimed at protecting the socially weak strata of the population, people with small pensions and low wages, unemployed workers, and others. This activity will assume an ever growing importance for preventing social tension from escalating, for preserving civic peace, and for ensuring our peaceful transition to democracy during the current economic crisis.

My legislative initiative will also be aimed at ensuring the civil and political freedoms of individual citizens even before the new Constitution has been adopted. The progress of private initiative and enterprise should be promoted. The path for the market economy should be cleared, because it is the only means of overcoming the economic crisis.

You perfectly understand that such tasks are not within the power of a single state institution; they cannot even be implemented by the entire state apparatus, unless they are supported by the majority of the people.

For this reason I appeal to all Bulgarian citizens, to all democrats, regardless of their party and political affiliation, regardless of their views and convictions, and urge them to support the efforts of the Grand National Assembly and of the presidential institution for the country's prompt democratization.

I appeal to all of you, not because my role as head of state obliges me to do so, but because I am convinced that the democratic, law-governed state in Bulgaria can be built only with the efforts of all Bulgarian people. Let us hope that we shall have a chance to do so; let us sincererely hope! Thank you!

Favors 'Cabinet of Experts'

AU0308140190 Sofia BTA in English
0923 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 3 Aug (BTA)—One day after he assumed the presidency, Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev says he feels "as if on board a ship which you have to steer without experience across a stormy sea."

President Zhelev, who led the opposition, believes that his new job involves exceedingly serious responsibilities and commitments, "commitments, among other things, to the other political force with which we were in confrontation so far and with which we already have to seek common ground and build national concord." He asserts that one of his main ambitions now is to help overcome the mistrust and the acute confrontation of the political forces, to create conditions for their cooperation. He has fears and they stem from the great social strain which besets various social strata.

President Zhelev remains committed to his idea which he held while he led the opposition: Bulgaria does not need a coalition government "because it could not solve its problems. It would efface the opposition," Dr. Zhelev said, "and in order to have a democratic process in Bulgaria, there should be a strong and serious opposition."

The new president favours a cabinet of experts. "Without its being a coalition government, without engaging directly the political forces, it can be a strong government if it has a sufficiently democratic and radical programme and the complete support of parliament," Dr. Zhelev believes.

He lists among his immediate plans some trips abroad to seek economic aid.

"I am sure that there will be no obstacles between us," says Dr. Zhelev, referring to his joint work with the vice president, General Atanas Semerdzhiev of the BSP.

Interview With Soviet Reporters

WA0308143790

For Soviet media coverage of an interview with newly elected Bulgarian President Zhelyu Zhelev by Soviet journalists on Soviet-Bulgarian relations, please see the East Europe section of the 3 August issue of the Soviet Union DAILY REPORT.

SDS Council Elects Petur Beron New Chairman

AU0308122690 Sofia BTA in English
1207 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 3 Aug (BTA)—Today the Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] elected Dr. Petur Beron its chairman. After Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev's election to the presidency, Dr. Beron became the leader of the opposition.

Dr. Beron is fifty years old. He is a biology graduate. He is senior research associate at the National Museum of Natural Sciences with the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. He has a good knowledge of Russian, English, French and German.

Dr. Petur Beron began his opposition activity before November 10, 1989, as a member of the Ecoglasnost Movement. He was the opposition candidate for Bulgaria's vice president.

Further on Elections

AU0308192190 Sofia BTA in English
1852 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 3 Aug (BTA)—Today Dr. Petur Beron became chairman of the Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]. The 50-year-old biologist and traveller, one of the first dissidents in the country and a national representative now, succeeded Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev to this post after the latter was elected president of the country.

Today the SDS elected two deputy chairmen. Petko Simeonov, 48-year-old sociologist of the Federation of Clubs for Glasnost and Democracy and a National Assembly representative, is the deputy chairman in charge of the SDS election campaigns. He headed the election club of the opposition before the parliamentary elections.

Hieromonk Khristofor Subev is the other deputy chairman in charge of the SDS mass drives. Educated in physics, 44-year-old Father Subev is chairman of the Committee for the Protection of Religious Rights, Freedom of Conscience and Intellectual Values. Before Todor Zhivkov's ousting he was persecuted and imprisoned.

The SDS will have yet another deputy chairman who will be in charge of administrative affairs. He will probably be Filip Dimitrov, the SDS informs. Khristofor Subev and Filip Dimitrov were deputy chairmen together with Milan Drenchev, leader of the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian Party, who obviously will devote himself to the affairs of his party.

The SDS spokesman Mikhail Nedelchev announced that the Parliamentary Union of the SDS (the SDS group in the Grand National Assembly) will have a new chairman. He will be elected at the beginning of next week.

At its session today the Coordinating Council of the SDS discussed its interaction with the SDS Parliamentary Union, its strategy at the local authorities elections in the autumn and the structure of the SDS.

The SDS is not threatened by a split after the leader of the opposition, Dr. Zhelev, was elected president. There are different points of view, but there are not any differences, SDS members say.

Beron Outlines Opposition Goals

AU0408172990 Sofia BTA in English
1559 GMT 4 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 4 Aug (BTA)—Mr. Petur Beron, the new opposition leader, who was elected yesterday chairman of the Coordinating Council of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), believes that there is a great difference between the SDS a couple of months ago and the SDS now.

"We are already involved in the structures of power, and we enter a stage of political professionalization," Mr. Beron says in an interview for DEMOKRATSIYA. He believes, however, that this faces the opposition coalition with fresh difficulties "because politics is an art of the possible, but the point is where the limit is."

Mr. Beron says that the strategic purpose of the opposition is the dismantling of the totalitarian system. Tactically, the opposition will focus on the work of its parliamentary faction and on the local elections this coming autumn. The building of SDS structures around the country and especially in small towns is just as important, Mr. Beron believes.

The new opposition leaders does not think that he should go on being secretary of the Ecoglasnost movement, even though the SDS statute makes this possible. Despite his busy political activities over the last few months, he has managed to finish his new book, "Faraway Summits," about the highest mountains in the world which he has visited as an explorer. Mr. Beron is preparing for publication another book, "The Cave Fauna of Greece." He intends to earn a doctorate in his subject, zoology.

BSP 'Agitation' Reported Over Zhelev's Election

AU0408144790 Sofia BTA in English
1355 GMT 4 Aug 90

["Dr. Zhelev's Election: Socialist Compromise or Betrayal?"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 4 Aug (BTA)—"A 'historic compromise' or a 'betrayal': These conflicting assessments have been given by members and sympathizers of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] to the decision of the Socialist M.P.'s to vote for Dr. Zhelev and thus secure his election," writes today's DUMA, the Socialist Party's daily. "There is a huge agitation within the BSP, and there are dark rumours of cartons full of discarded membership cards," DUMA reports. "Socialist M.P.'s and members of the BSP Supreme Council tour the provinces to explain their strategy and tactics in the election of the opposition leader as president. One of them quipped that he is in for lynching. On the whole, however, these meetings in the provinces are dominated by optimism that the compromise will be understood," writes DUMA. On Thursday [2 August] Prof. Dr. Chavdar Kyuranov urged for the same in a televised interview. Mr. Kyuranov's nomination for president was put forward by the Socialist Party and later on withdrawn. "The president's election," Prof. Kyuranov told the TV audience, "was not a matter of inevitability for the Socialist M.P.'s, but a matter of responsibility which our party assumed."

In a feature entitled "What Did the BSP Gain by Losing the Presidency?" today's DUMA writes it has been rumoured that the BSP parliamentary faction was split almost evenly in the voting for Dr. Zhelev and that not all opposition M.P.'s supported their leader. The BSP vice-presidential nominee Mr. Velko Vulkanov publicly admitted that he was going to vote against Dr. Zhelev. On the following day, in a front-page article the editor-in-chief of DUMA Mr. Stefan Prodev M.P. also wrote that he had not supported the opposition candidate.

Explanations why the Socialist M.P.'s suddenly swung their support to Dr. Zhelev were only available off the record. No member of the BSP leadership ventured to commit himself to details, writes DUMA.

Dr. Zhelev was first mentioned as president on the evening of Tuesday [31 July], the day before he was elected. Sources close to the leaderships of the parliamentary factions claim, however, that the option of a BSP-SDS [Union of Democratic Forces] compromise appeared as early as after the second round of voting. Still, on Monday evening, when the Bulgarian Agrarian Party leader Mr. Viktor Vulkov was within easy reach of the presidency, the election of Dr. Zhelev seemed incredible. Many Socialists believed that another vote should have been held right that evening, and Mr. Vulkov was almost sure to collect those "crucial" three votes which were required for a two-thirds majority in his favour. "Who knows what's going to happen tonight?" they said, citing the intensified lobbying by M.P.'s close to the leadership of the opposition union, who wanted to sleep on the compromise idea.

On the following day it was clear that only few rank-and-file M.P.'s had slept and that the leaders had stayed up. Just as expected, Dr. Petur Dertliev of the SDS withdrew his nomination, but contrary to expectations, Mr. Vulkov followed suit, although he had almost made it. The BSP had already withdrawn Prof. Kyuranov's nomination and it had been a hard decision, DUMA writes, quoting well informed Socialists. The mounting extraparliamentary pressure showed that a political compromise about an independent personality would not dull the public confrontation. After the July 27 disturbances around the parliament building, that became absolutely clear.

This is the prehistory of Dr. Zhelev's election as president on Wednesday. The statements of Dr. Zhelev, or Mr. Vulkov (on behalf of all three political forces) and of Mr. Lukanov (on the position of the BSP) bore witness to the first post-election political consensus, writes DUMA.

Ludzhev, Pirinski Discuss Future Government

AU0408200290 Sofia BTA in English 1847 GMT 4 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 4 Aug (BTA)—In a televised talk with Mr. Dimitur Ludzhev M.P. of the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (SDS), Mr. Georgi Pirinski M.P. of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) and member of the BSP Supreme Council expressed the hope that the common understanding reached to settle the presidential crisis will provide a groundwork for the operation of the future government.

"We haven't got time," Mr. Pirinski said, "in the autumn Bulgaria has to take important decisions: to join the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and other institutions. Bulgaria is expected to show that it has a capable government which has adopted a well considered medium-term economic programme with tangible steps towards a market economy."

Mr. Dimitur Ludzhev said he believed that the future Bulgarian Government should receive political and parliamentary support. It should proceed from a programme, but before that guidelines should be worked out for the achievement of a parliamentary consensus and a vote of political confidence which would make it really strong, Mr. Ludzhev said. In his view this will take weeks and even months. What is needed is simply to build up definite prerequisites and the opposition to take a real share in legislative and executive power.

Conflicting Reports on Customs Officers' Strike

Sofia Workers Strike in Support

AU0308142190 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Text] At 1500 yesterday, the Sofia customs officers also declared an indefinite, effective strike in support of the strike demands of their colleagues in Varna. Over 100 customs officers are on strike. What are their demands?

They demand an independent status for the customs system and the customs officers in Bulgaria, and the full independence of customs officers from all other services

and organs in carrying out their duties. In addition, the salaries and working conditions of customs officers should correspond to the responsibility and special nature of their work, and the high qualifications needed to carry it out. They also call for the preparation of a package of the most urgent legislative changes and administrative changes in order to lay the foundations of a modern, efficient customs service enjoying high prestige.

Kalotina Officers Join Walkout

AU0308143590 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1300 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Text] Other customs officers in Bulgaria have joined the indefinite, effective strike of the customs officers in Varna.

Since 1030 this morning, the officers at the Kalotina Customs Post have been on strike. We contacted Vyacheslav Terziev, chairman of the strike committee in Kalotina, who made the following comments:

[Begin Terziev recording] We join the strike of our colleague customs officers. We have elected a strike committee, which has been delegated the sole responsibility for representing the interests of the collective of customs officers in Kalotina, and which is not subordinate to any other superior body.

We have learned from unofficial sources that the decision of the Collegium of the Ministry of Finance, signed by the prime minister, was stopped by the nomenklatura of the Council of Ministers. In connection with the tension which has arisen because of the failure to fulfill the demands of the customs officer for an independent status and autonomy, for the regrading of customs work, and for a salary review, we call for the resignation of the leadership of the Main Customs Administration, including the chief experts.

We consider that appointments and dismissals in the customs service are an administrative issue, and that our leadership should be the minister and Collegium of the Council of Ministers. If Nikolay Nikolov, chief director of the Customs Administration, is replaced by any of the present chief experts, the Kalotina customs officers will continue their effective strike until their demands are met.

We are taking this action because we have exhausted all other possibilities for solving the great problems which have existed for years. We remain concerned and sympathetic for the country's fate, and preserve our sense of civic duty. [end recording]

At the moment, the Kalotina Customs are allowing through children's foods and perishable food products, medicines, and fuel, as well as transit travelers.

Finance Ministry Says Strike Over

AU0308185090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Statement from the Ministry of Finance following meeting with customs officers, read by unidentified announcer; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] Today the customs posts in the country are working normally. The main issues raised with the Ministry of Finance have been resolved, in accordance with the agreement between the ministry and the Independent Customs Officers Trade Union signed on 17 July 1990.

Today the minister of finance informed by telex the municipal customs officers about Council of Ministers Decree No. 87, which will settle the customs officers' wage claims until the adoption of a separate salary schedule for established officers.

The issue raised in the demands concerning the resignation of Nikolay Nikolov, chief of the Main Customs Administration, is to be examined and resolved.

In connection with the declaration of readiness to strike by the workers at the State Mint, the Ministry of Finance issues the following announcement:

Today, agreement was reached at a meeting with the labor collective of the State Mint to rescind their readiness to strike, and, after the collective's claims for a review have been considered under the legally established procedure, a new meeting will be arranged.

The management and the strike committee have declared to the Collegium of the Ministry of Finance that they renounce their readiness to strike.

Strike Committee Denies Report

AU0308202690 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2200 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Text] In connection with the Ministry of Finance's radio announcement, which was broadcast on the Khorizont Program at 2030 [1730 GMT], BTA has received a denial from the national strike committee of the customs officers in Varna.

The document claims that the information broadcast does not correspond to the truth. The national strike committee declares that the customs officers in Varna are continuing their effective strike, and at the moment there is no information of any customs office calling of the strike.

It is added that talks are expected to be held at 1800 [1500 GMT] tomorrow between the strikers and Finance Minister Belcho Belchev. [indistinct passage]

Sofia Radio Reports End to Strike

AU0408170490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 4 Aug 90

[Text] This afternoon in Varna, after the signing of an agreement between the national strike committee of customs officers and Finance Minister Belcho Belchev, the strike committee called off the strike actions started on 2 August as of 1700 [1400 GMT] today. The strikers' demands, which lie within the competence of the Ministry of Finance, have been satisfied, while a deadline of 31 August has been set for agreeing on other demands.

The national strike committee calls on all customs officers to immediately begin carrying out their official duties.

New Customs Interim Chief Appointed

AU0408195090 Sofia BTA in English 1849 GMT 4 Aug 90

[Text] Varna, 4 Aug (BTA)—The national customs strike, which was declared on August 2, was called off today after an agreement was signed with Mr. Belcho Belchev, minister of finance.

Before that Mr. Belchev conferred with the national strike committee of the customs services (these rights were delegated to the customs post in the Black Sea city of Varna) and with representatives of the strike committees of the customs posts in Svilengrad, Silistra, Burgas, Sofia Airport, the Sofia Customs House, Vidin, Ruse, Tolbukhin and Kalotina.

Some of the customs officers were on an effective strike and others on a token strike.

For the time being, the demands which are within the competence of the Ministry of Finance have been met, and August 31, 1990, has been set as a deadline for the rest. Personnel and structural changes are planned. Mr. Vladimir Penchev, deputy minister of finance, has been appointed interim chief of the Customs Service. He has to form a commission which should suggest a draft statute and structure of the customs system as a separate institution with the Council of Ministers. There are plans to grant the customs the status of an autonomous administration, entirely independent of other services and authorities.

TU Confederation Appeal on Economic Situation

AU0408153190

[Editorial Report] Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian on 1 August on pages 1 and 2 publishes an undated 1,000-word appeal adopted by the Executive Committee of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria "to all those who are responsible to the people for the present and future state of society."

In the preamble, alarm is voiced over the failure to address the critical problems detailed in the Confederation's Memorandum published in TRUD on 10 July. The appeal then reminds the parliament and the government that "the coming crisis is inexorable," and that "all—both the rulers and the ruled—have inherited a bankrupt economy."

The Confederation then proposes to the government and parliament "its own package of protective measures," including the following:

"measures for protection against inflation," comprising a system for indexing wages in line with inflation; and

"measures for protecting the unemployed," including a program to ensure employment during the transition to a market economy; capital investment to create new jobs; state monitoring of layoffs and reemployment; state financial assistance for the unemployed; and retraining facilities.

In conclusion, the appeal states that the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria is itself taking immediate steps to help the unemployed, by organizing regional "clubs" for aiding the unemployed, by setting up "an alternative automated information system for the unemployed" by the end of September, and by instructing the municipal trade union councils "to draft and sign regional agreements on employment with the local authorities and employers."

Possibilities, Signs of Upcoming 'Energy Crisis'

AU0308181490 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 1 Aug 90 pp 1,2

[Evgeni Gavrilov report: "On Threshold of New Energy Crisis]

[Text] Judging from the draft document on price changes which has been submitted to the Council of Ministers, the same thing will soon happen with electricity as has already been the case with gasoline. In this document, the Committee for the Energy Industry proposes various alternatives, according to which the cost of one kilowatt-hour of electricity will rise by an amount between 40 and 100 percent.

Considering the state of the Bulgarian energy industry, even this prospect is optimistic. The Belmeken Reservoir, which feeds the largest hydroelectric facility in the country, the Belmeken-Sestrimo cascade, has reserves for another 15 to 20 days. If the three hydroelectric plants there were to shut down, production of 735 Megawatts of electric power would stop. Two weeks after this, the Batak cascade would also lose its supply, which comes from Batak Reservoir. Although additional water is being transferred to it from the Vasil Kolarov Reservoir, the situation at the Batak Reservoir will not significantly improve. The position at the Ardino and Vucha cascades is not much different.

This spring, the country's water reserves were between 30 and 40 percent lower than the amounts we had in the

driest recent years. Because of the lack of water, our hydroelectric industry faces total losses of over 1,000 megawatts.

As Dimitur Sokolov, deputy chairman of the Committee for the Energy Industry, explained, this puts our energy system in a very difficult position, because the hydroelectric power plants are the only energy sources able to quickly change their output when needed, in the event of shutdowns of thermal or nuclear power plants.

The stocks of heavy fuel oil are also declining substantially. On 1 August 1989, the state had stocks of 213,000 tonnes. This year, the stocks on the same date are only 109,000 tonnes.

Fuel oil is mainly used for firing the district heating plants. A small amount is used for firing up the main energy generating plants. It will probably prove necessary to shut down certain heat energy sources for domestic hot water supplies during the summer season, in order to guarantee the required fuel oil stocks for heat supplies during the winter and for firing up the thermal power plants.

The situation is also alarming with the stocks of sulfuric and hydrochloric acid, which are used for water purification in thermal and nuclear power plants.

The commissioning of new energy generating facilities is also running behind schedule. This chiefly concerns the No. 6 generating unit at the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant, which can make up for the energy losses caused by the shortage of water resources. The construction of the unit is proceeding slowly. It is scheduled to be completed before September, but this date is unlikely to be kept.

The Chaira pumped-storage hydroelectric plant should have come into service in 1985, but it cannot be commissioned even this year, because the construction work is hopelessly behind.

The overhaul of our energy facilities is also proceeding far from smoothly. Difficulties are being encountered with supplies of materials and spare parts, such as pipes, electrodes, and sheet steel, for which dollars are needed. Previously the repair costs were met out of the state budget, but now the Committee for the Energy Industry has to find the necessary foreign exchange itself. Ways are being sought to export energy, in return for the import of spare parts and materials. The question whether certain energy capacities will be overhauled at all largely depends on the success of these efforts.

Background of Foreign Debt Accumulation Outlined

AU0308141590 Sofia BTA in English
0931 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 3 Aug (BTA)—Bulgaria owes its foreign creditors a total of 10,384,600,000 dollars. Over the last five years, the country's foreign currency deficit reached 6,740.8 million dollars, a huge figure by the standards of the Bulgarian economy.

The money was spent on a great economic illusion, writes today's DUMA, the daily of the Socialist Party.

Over those five years Bulgaria paid 911.2 million dollars for imported forage grain, beans, sunflower seeds and sugar, 34 million dollars for polyvinyl chloride, fibres and chemical products. The slump in the arms exports set Bulgaria's public purse back 1,500 million dollars, and other negative factors were the general deterioration of the business climate, the granting of uneconomic credits and the increase of interest payments. Once trapped in the vicious circle of its external indebtedness, Bulgaria saw itself compelled to make more loans to repay its old ones.

During the last five years Bulgaria spent 3,893.4 million dollars on raw and prime materials. Even a cursory glance at the list of imports shows that Bulgaria was heavily dependent on imports for its food, clothing and manufacturing. The economic analyses show that over the last five years no industrial branch has earned more foreign currency than it was spending.

Compared to 1981-1985, the decreased foreign-exchange receipts from exports and the increased outlays on fuel and electricity imports alone robbed the Bulgarian state coffers of 1,320 million dollars. The decreased export of metallurgical products resulted in a loss of 178 million dollars. Agriculture and food processing cut their exports by more than 800 million dollars. The output of the light industry and the electronics was just as unexportable. Bulgaria's overseas prospecting, engineering and construction has been paying less hard currency, too.

Non-commercial operations are the only item on Bulgaria's foreign currency balance sheet in which the assets exceed the liabilities. On a national scale, however, this surplus is so insignificant that it has virtually no influence on the overall state of the country's balance of payments.

'Towns of Truth' Trust Zhelev, Semerdzhiev

AU0308183790 Sofia BTA in English
1729 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 3 Aug (BTA)—Today, one month after the Towns of Truth have appeared, the situation in the country is radically different—the conservative communist forces are giving in, although slowly; in the person of the newly elected President Dr. Zhelev and Vice President Semerdzhiev we see guarantors for the democratization of the country, it is said in a declaration of the Town of Truth in Sofia read at today's news conference.

The inhabitants of the Town of Truth in Sofia said that their most important demands were met and they were ready to change their protest into a token presence in front of the Presidency. "We are not alone any more, this month Towns of Truth have appeared all over the country and we back up their demands," it is pointed out in the declaration.

Representatives of the Towns of Truth from Varna, Plovdiv, Ruse, Blagoevgrad, Vratsa and some other cities stated before the journalists that they were firmly resolved to stay on in the tents "until the totalitarian system and the local nomenclature are entirely dismantled." A democratic country cannot be built up in the capital only, the representative from Blagoevgrad said, and an inhabitant of the Town of Truth in Varna announced that in an address to Zhelev and Semerdzhiev it is declared that their town would continue to be active, thus helping the president and vice president in the difficult work which dismantling the totalitarian system involves.

'City of Truth' Dismantled in Gabrovo

AU0408170890 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1500 GMT 4 Aug 90

[Text] After the election of Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev and Atanas Semerdzhiev as president and vice president, respectively, the political mood of the supporters of the various parties and organizations in Gabrovo shows signs of calming down. It appears that they realize that now calm and security are more important for everyone.

Today's BTA announcement states that the "city of truth" was closed down in Gabrovo. Over a two-week period, thousands of signatures were collected for the resignation of Stoyno Stoynov, chairman of the municipal commission for intellectual development, which was a source of social and political tension in the town, for changes in the planned routes for the Gabrovo bypass, and against the poilution of the Yantra and (?Vilenek) Rivers. Thousands of people also demand the recall from Leningrad of Trifon Pashov, the former first secretary of Gabrovo Okrug Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party. According to them, he has neither the moral right nor the training to occupy a diplomatic post.

Kintex Ready To Cooperate With UK on Terrorism

AU0308181990 Sofia BTA in English 1640 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 3 Aug (BTA)—Anton Saldzhiyski, who is the manager of Kintex, the Bulgarian firm involved in the arms business, is ready to give information to the British authorities about any weapons that may have got into the hands of terrorist organizations to the extent of his capacity.

Mr. Saldzhiyski expressly specifies in today's SVOBODEN NAROD that such information could be released if an official enquiry is made by the competent British authorities via the officially established channels.

The director general of Kintex has made this statement in the paper of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party in connection with the information broadcast by Radio Liberty. He does not question the authenticity of the piece of information, but he considers that it is not quite correct.

Mr. Saldzhiyski explains that the NEW YORK TIMES and the London TIMES would like to know whether Kintex has ever delivered weapons to the IRA [Irish Republican Army] and, in particular, whether the Bulgarian side would be ready to admit that the weapons were delivered by Bulgaria if it is advised by the British authorities that they have seized IRA arms with identified serial numbers.

But except for the already mentioned journalistic interest, we have not received any official enquiry, the manager of Kintex says.

Letter From 'Bulgarians' in Macedonia on Ilinden

AU0408190290 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 4 Aug 90

[Excerpts] At the celebrations of the 87th anniversary of the Ilinden-Preobrazhenie Uprising in Prevala today, a letter was distributed from the Society of Bulgarians in Vardar Macedonia [in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia].

In an appeal to the Bulgarian people, the authors of the letter state as follows:

For all of us, Bulgarians from Vardar, the Aegean [Greek part of Macedonia], and Pirin, as well as for all the Bulgarian people, the date of 2 August makes us pay homage to the great feat of our forefathers, which marked the beginning of the bloodiest page in the history of Bulgarians in Macedonia. [passage omitted]

We are the descendants of the heroes of the uprising, the letter declares. Regardless of where we live and what our names are, we know and remember one thing: We are Bulgarians, our roots are Bulgarian, and our language is Bulgarian. However much others may try to persuade us that our language is Macedonian, that our songs are Macedonian, that our faith and culture are different, and that our names are not Bulgarian, we do not believe them.

The Bulgarians of Vardar Macedonia appeal to the new democratic Bulgaria to intercede on behalf of their rights and show to Europe and the world that millions of Bulgarians live outside their native land, but for decades some of them have been denied by all possible means their rights to self-determination as a nation and people, to their Bulgarian characteristics and cultural identity.

The authors of the appeal to the Bulgarian people condemn the activity of the so-called Ilinden United Macedonian Organization, which is selling Bulgarian national characteristics, as the people say, for a mess of pottage.

In conclusion, they state that unfortunately they cannot sign their names openly and honestly at the end of their letter, commenting that Yugoslav democracy still does not allow them to do this.

Journalists Said Turned Back at SFRY Border

AU0308194990 Sofia BTA in English
1915 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Text] Blagoevgrad, 3 Aug (BTA)—A group of journalists from Blagoevgrad decided to go today to Skopje, the capital of SR [Socialist Republic] Macedonia, on the occasion of the 87th anniversary of the Ilinden-Preobrazhenie uprising, but their trip came to an end at the border checkpoint of Delchevo. The Yugoslav border authorities did not allow them to continue their trip on the pretext that the members of the group had not 200 dollars each. The journalists from Blagoevgrad had 30 dollars each for their one-day stay in Yugoslavia. When they reminded to the employees of the Yugoslav checkpoint about the statement of the member of the Presidency of Yugoslavia and SR Macedonia, Dr. Vasil Topurkovski, that the state leadership in Skopje had unilaterally decided to lift the visa regime for a period of three days at the time of the Ilinden celebrations in Macedonia so that as many as possible foreign citizens could come and attend them, the reply was that no instructions and orders had been received in this sense.

These are not the only Bulgarian citizens who have been refused entry in Yugoslavia under different pretexts. A Bulgarian delegation of the Public Initiative Committee for the Celebration of the 87th Anniversary of the Ilinden-Preobrazhenie Uprising which was to lay a wreath on Gotse Delchev's grave in Skopje was not allowed entry in Yugoslavia, too.

Government Halts Military Supplies to Iraq

LD0308172890 Prague CTK in English 1616 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Text] Prague Aug 3 (CTK)—In connection with the Iraqi military aggression against Kuwait the Czechoslovak Government decided today to stop immediately all supplies to Iraq which are of military character of which could be used for military purposes.

Iraqi Ambassador Refuses Note of Protest

LD0308152590 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1500 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Text] The charge d'affaires of Iraq was received at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Prague today [3 August]. The intention had been to hand over to him a protest note regarding the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait. The Iraqi diplomat refused to accept the note.

Trade Minister Cited on Talks With USSR

LD0408092590 Prague CTK in English 0659 GMT 4 Aug 90

[Text] Prague Aug 4 (CTK)—Thursday's information of Czechoslovak Economy Minister Vladimir Dlouhy on his talks in the Soviet Union clearly showed that the Soviet side does not fulfil its commitments, causing considerable complications to Czechoslovakia, today's youth daily MLADA FRONTA said.

Minister Dlouhy said that it will be necessary to stop dividing the markets into socialist and non-socialist, adding that Czechoslovakia has been considering the Soviet Union a standard world market. One day the crisis of Soviet economy will end—be it on its whole territory or in some of its parts. Restoration will start and then it will be significant be the on spot as first [as received], the daily said.

Venice Pentagonal Meeting Summarized

AU0308160090 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 2 Aug 90 pp 1, 8

[CTK report: "Encouraging Pentagonal Group Results"]

[Excerpt] The two-day meeting involving the heads of government of the Pentagonal Group member countries (Italy, Austria, Hungary, the CSFR, and Yugoslavia) has come to an end in Venice with the signing of a political declaration and a plan for cooperation in the years 1990-92.

The political document details the establishment of the new subregional grouping following the revolutionary changes that have taken place in the countries of East and Central Europe. This has led to new relations between the East and West. The Pentagonal Group defines its main aim as contributing toward the creation of security and stability during the conversion from old systems to new ones and, especially, toward the broadest international cooperation possible and strengthening the values of parliamentary democracy and human rights.

The declaration emphasizes that the Pentagonal initiative is merely an element of a substantially more extensive European architecture existing, first and foremost, within the framework of the EC, the CSCE, and other European organizations. It is a stage of cooperation that will enable the member countries (apart from Italy) to quickly become full-fledged or associated members of the EC.

The main areas for future cooperation among the member countries are outlined in another part of the document. This will concentrate, first and foremost, on the transportation, energy, and environment spheres, on cooperation between small and medium-sized enterprises, on cooperation in science and technology and in information science and telecommunications, as well as on the development of cultural ties and tourism.

The states involved in the "Five" grouping also envisage in the future a regular exchange of views on political issues of common interest to everyone and, where the possibility arises, they will proceed jointly. In this connection, the government representatives of the five countries expressed their support for the participation of the national parliaments in the Pentagonal Group.

At the end of the document, the group indicates its profound satisfaction at the support which the recent Houston summit meeting involving the world's seven most advanced industrial states expressed for European regional cooperation.

The heads of government of the Pentagonal countries also sent a message to the other representatives of the CSCE signatory states on the occasion of the 15th anniversary of the signing of the Helsinki documents. In connection with the forthcoming CSCE summit in Paris, they expressed their support for the intensification of cooperation among European states during the construction of a new Europe of independent countries which mutually respect each other and which live in peace and democracy. [passage omitted]

Commentary on Havel Visit to Salzburg

AU0308094290 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 31 Jul 90 p 1

[Jan Dus commentary: "Charter 77 and the President Receive Best Marks"]

[Text] President Havel has shown that he is able to shake hands with his socially isolated Central European colleague, yet, at the same time, not strengthen the old Nazi politically. He did it at the price of being boldly frank. Without naming Kurt Waldheim, he challenged him, in the face of the entire world, to truthfully settle scores with his past instead of falsifying his own curriculum vitae.

The latest success of our president raises some doubts nevertheless. Has Sasa Vondra, foreign policy adviser to

the president, not lead his friend and chief to almost certain defeat by not realizing in time how substantially Vaclav Havel's position has changed since the times before the revolution, when he accepted the invitation to attend the Salzburg festival? Did Charter 77 not throw him a lifeline by challenging him publicly to cancel, for good reasons, his visit to the Salzburg Festival? Perhaps it was only after the open letter written by the Charter 77 spokesmen that the president realized that he had to either admit making a serious mistake—but in this case he would have to directly mention the Austrian president's Nazi past—or step nimbly in Salzburg between offending the anti-Nazi public (handshake) and the offense of the head of state. All ended well this time, but the entire world learned that Vaclav Havel and Charter 77 are not as close as they used to be. Was it necessary?

The president appointed Mr. Schwarzenberk (as far as the spelling is concerned, please consult Otto's Encyclopedia [Ottuv slovnik naucny], volume 23, 1905) [the name is rendered Schwarzenberg in the Western press and in both its German and Czechoslovak variants in the CSFR press] as the head his office, and it should not matter that he granted him the title of chancellor. The reports that the president is hiring even more employees for his office—not secretaries who would promptly and truthfully respond to letters written to President Havel by sincere citizens, but ambitious young as well as older gentlemen, who evidently want to conduct, while in presidential services, a high-profile (Castle) policy at home and abroad—cause embarrassment.

Doubts are mushrooming here. The president should not give the impression that he does not trust our legislative organs and our government, and that this is why he wants to establish in his office a strong political center in the country. He should cut down on the number of his advisers just because he has an excellent chancellor now. The more numerous and expert the "presidential men" are, the more troubles will they make for their chief. The president will inevitably cease to be a collaborator and will become a competitor to all three premiers, which will have a negative impact on the stability in the country.

Should the president not care more about strengthening the position of Civic Forum, which he led and represented from the very beginning? Does the U.S. President completely withdraw his support for his party once he has been elected? The Civic Forum Coordinating Center at Jungman plaza is constantly depopulating. On Friday, I was told by three friends that they were leaving for the Office of President. From the beginning, Civic Forum was strong in Prague and weak in the countryside, that is, weaker outside Prague, except for the favor of the voters. Now, Civic Forum becomes sick in Prague as well. It would not matter if the old and new political parties were at such a moral and expert level that the society could do well without Civic Forum. This is not the case, however, but all of us—former Civic Forum's ardent adherents since November and December last year—are idly watching Civic Forum's continuing disappearance, as if we were not worried whether the vacuum will be filled by forces and personalities we do not, and cannot trust. I hope I am mistaken. Maybe Civic Forums in the countryside, as well as in Prague, are, in fact, becoming stronger and will score another success in the fall elections.

Antall Statement Said Attempt To Spur Irredentism

AU0308174790 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 31 Jul 90 p 3

[Ivan Horsky commentary: "Playing with Fire"]

[Text] Josef Antall's declaration that he is a prime minister of 15 million Hungarians was given great publicity in Hungarian and our—particularly Slovak—mass media. If he is aware of statistics then, as a prime minister, he should know that his country has 10.5 million inhabitants, including ethnic minorities.

I do not believe, however, that the prime minister does not know how to count up to ten. Behind his boorish statement there is an apparent wish to renew the pre-1918 Hungary and to use the Hungarian population living in the territories of neighboring countries for that purpose. Irrespective of the fact that Antall's government says something else, certain circles in Budapest, but also their mercenaries from elsewhere, attempt to destabilize—while exploiting irredentist forces—the situation in the CSFR, Romania, and Yugoslavia.

In connection with the number of Hungarians, the number of 15 million somehow does not fit in: If we assume that there are some 10 million of them living in their homeland, up to 700,000 living in Czechoslovakia, and between 2 million and 2.5 million living in Romania and Yugoslavia, then the grand total is about 13 million, and 2 million remain somehow unaccounted for. Of course, the prime minister could have counted all Hungarians living in the United States, Canada, and West Europe; that is, the citizens of sovereign countries. Or did J. Antall count all those who can speak Hungarian as being Hungarians?

In Budapest (and apparently somewhere else as well), a dangerous game of political poker is being played. By destabilizing surrounding countries, Hungary follows the idea of their possible disintegration in order to be able to point out later that the Trianon Treaty is invalid and that a situation has been created which would enable the return to 1918; that is, the reestablishment of pre-1918 Hungary. This would happen irrespective of the opinions of the nations who live on the territory of this historically obsolete state formation. They have unequivocally shown, however, that they want to have their own countries while ensuring all the rights for minorities—based on reciprocity—according to pertinent international documents and treaties the signatories of which they are, including Hungary.

Budapest should realize one thing: One physical law applies also to politics—action calls for reaction. This is true in domestic, as well as in international policy. Irredentist endavours of some Hungarian circles inside

the countries neighboring with Hungary encourage the growth of national feelings and anti-Hungarian chauvinism, which is a logical consequence only. Not the other way around, as they say in Hungary. On the international scale, this could manifest itself in a new establishment of an alliance between Czechoslovakia, Romania, and Yugoslavia, who feel threatened the most by the plans for a greater Hungary.

Nationalist disputes in Central Europe are the latest thing, however, which the democratic development and gradual integration of our continent needs. This is why it seems that someone in Budapest plays this card in order to distract society from the economic and social problems in Hungary. Yet, history has shown many times that such endeavors are aberrant.

Prime Minister Antall should realize this. If he does not, it will be necessary to remind him of it. The signature of the Hungarian representative is also on the Helsinki Final Act, which, among other things, also includes the inviolability of borders in Europe (or is the act no longer valid?). This document is already 15 years old! Or, only 15 years? Moreover, those people in Budapest should ask the citizens of Hungarian origin whether they agree with J. Antall's declaration.

Klaus on Prices Policy, Economic Reform

AU0208191490 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 31 Jul 90 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus by Marcela Doleckova; place and date not given: "How To Form a Prices Policy"; first paragraph is HOSPODARSKE NOVINY introduction]

[Text] Today it is clear that as of 1 August prices will also come under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Finance. We asked Vaclav Klaus, CSFR finance minister, for an interview on this subject.

[Doleckova] What will be the role of the price office under the Ministry of Finance?

[Klaus] We do not require a price office for our future market economy. However, the stage leading up to price liberalization, the period of regulating liberalization, and—finally—the function of prices in the future are another matter. Prices policy during the period prior to liberalization will be a policy of price levels and not of individual prices. The core of the problem, then, does not lie in the prices policy itself—in the narrow sense of the word—but lies in the creation of a macroeconomic situation and in the market balance between overall supply and demand. The heart of the matter is not the prices policy, but the currency and budget policy.

Another thing is that we live in an economy with a very anomalous market structure which is far from the competition model and, therefore, we need to break up the monopoly power of individual enterprises. Because this will be a long-term process, we cannot wait for it with the liberalization of prices; therefore, another necessary element is the liberalization of foreign trade: An alternative price for the domestic product will be the price set by an alternative producer somewhere in the world.

Of course, something specifically connected with prices, something that prices formation should continue to do, remains to be done. During the period prior to the liberalization of prices, that is, 1 January 1991, we will try to establish rules that will enable prices to move in the direction in which they should move.

[Doleckova] However, as of 1 October should sales taxes for industrial goods be adjusted?

[Klaus] We wanted to prepare several price adjustments by price liberalization. Of course, this can only involve adjustments that we think we know how to make. Not only in the technical sense, but in the sense that we are certain of the correctness of our economic logic. An intervention such as the removal of the negative turnover tax [zaporna dan z obratu] is, despite the social impact, economically trivial. Other price adjustments are not so trivial, and we are not sure how many of them we know how to make; knowing how to in the sense of economically difficult considerations. One of the things that offers itself is unifying absolutely irrational sales taxes, in this case, for industrial products. Removing negative turnover tax is, of course, the easier part. When we have managed this we will have several tax rates, perhaps three, for industrial goods. The question of which group of goods to include in the first, second, or third rate is conceptually incredibly complicated. We would like to manage this prior to price liberalization. A number of exogenous shocks also comes into all of this.

[Doleckova] You had reckoned with new calculations for Soviet oil at the beginning of the year. Why do you label this as a shock?

[Klaus] If you associate the word shock with the meaning that this is an unexpected element, then I consider this to be a shock caused by external influences. The fact is a number of other exogenous phenomena have an effect here: For example, German reunification and, for instance, even that it is not raining. All exogenous shocks will force us to react prior to 1 January. This will complicate concentrating on the same turnover tax. If these external influences set a number of other elements in motion, then—of course—this could threaten to exceed the public's toleration limit for price changes.

[Doleckova] The public's tolerance underwent a certain "gasoline" test. It seems to me that the Czechoslovak public's behavior was far from being a willingness to tighten its belt.

[Klaus] The increase in gasoline prices has nothing in common with tightening belts. Tightening our belt should make sense when we introduce the fundamental reform steps: What I save by tightening my belt, I will accumulate in a sensible way. Tightening our belts today does not make any sense.

[Doleckova] Despite this, I have the feeling that in all the steps—whether they are immediately associated with reform or are merely a reaction to external influences—there is a constant danger of unleashing an inflationary spiral.

[Klaus] Inflation is a socioeconomic evil which we have to prevent at all costs. For domestic reasons and for reasons which we are capable of taking care of, inflation should not exceed single digits even during the transition period. In the case of external influences, I am afraid that the figure will creep above this level. It would not be too much of a problem to tighten the financial and currency policy reins a little so that, despite the external shocks, we could really wipe out inflation. But this would have an impact on production and on unemployment which, undoubtedly, society would not consider acceptable. Inflation is really a cancer which makes all the elements uncertain and which destroys decisionmaking for all the economic entities. All the totalitarian regimes were established as a consequence of galloping inflation.

[Doleckova] You are sometimes accused of turning Czechoslovakia into one huge laboratory.

[Klaus] That is a false evaluation; if this were a laboratory, then I would have behaved in a completely different manner as of 1 January. There are a number of pressures—economic, ideological, political, and social—which limit us and tie our hands. I can only take a deep breath and say that reform started, that it speeded up in February, March, and April and that since April we have been standing de facto where we are today. The formation of the government, the debates in parliament, and so on have blocked our space for maneuvering for three months. We have an infinitely long way to go before we become a laboratory. We are moving extremely pragmatically as opposed to many people who today accuse me of being too theoretical. On the other hand, I would turn the objection about theory and practice in another direction: There is nothing more practical than a good theory.

Adam on Future of Czechoslovak Socialist Party

AU0308093490

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 30 July on pages 1 and 2 publishes a 1,100-word interview with Milan Adam, M.D., Dr. of sciences, acting deputy chairman of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, by Kamila Jaskova, RUDE PRAVO correspondent, entitled "We Are Looking for Coalition Partners." The place and date of the interview are not given. Adam addresses the problem of internal strife in the party, which, according to him, are being mollified. One should forget the trite quarrels caused by the dearth of experience with free elections and the party's poor showing in them, and concentrate on the upcoming communal elections, he says. This, however, does not eliminate the possibility, as he admits later in the interview, that the party could split. One of the sensitive issues is the name of the party, and there are four suggestions: Czechoslovak Socialist Party [Ceskoslovenska strana socialisticka], Czechoslovak National Socialist Party [Ceskoslovenska strana narodne socialisticka], Czechoslovak National Social Party [Ceskoslovenska strana narodne socialni], and Czechoslovak Liberal Social Party [Ceskoslovenska strana liberalne socialni]. The emotions are still very high and errors must be avoided.

According to Adam, the gravest error made by his party was to overestimate its possibilities. "The Czechoslovak Socialist Party should have formed a coalition with Social Democracy, the Green [Party], or perhaps with the Moravians [Movement for Autonomous Democracy/Society for Moravia and Silesia]. Today the situation would have been different." He continues with an assertion that his party is looking for coalition partners. Another important task for the party is, according to Adam, forming a definite stance in the economic and social spheres. He specifies pension indexation and the societal problems of youth. Adam sees the only chance for the party's success in implementing these policies in utilizing the press. Further, he says, "It will be necessary to form a shadow government or something like that. Together with our coalition partners, we should be able to assemble a sufficient number of experts for this purpose."

The last issue addressed by Adam is the party's relationship with its organ SVOBODNE SLOVO. He believes that the calling off of the strike alert by the newspaper is an indication of an improvement, adding: "I think that a voluntary concord and mutual respect should be maintained." He concludes that a high professional standard should be the most important issue in both newspapers and politics.

Further on Hostivar Reservoir 2 Aug Bombing

LD0308154390 Prague CTK in English 1150 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Text] Prague Aug 3 (CTK)—A bomb exploded at Hostivar Dam in Prague's tenth district at 12.30 GMT yesterday, causing slight injuries to three persons, a special investigation team informed CTK today.

It was found out that the initiating device was planted on the dam's shore and directed against the opposite nudist beach.

The perpetrator used the same blasting system as that in Prague's Old Town Square two months ago, on June 2, in which a foreign tourist received a serious eye injury and several other people were slightly injured.

One of the team's workers, Lieutenant-Colonel Milan Vodnansky, said that re-investigating are persons who were interrogated already in connection with the Old Town explosion but whose participation could not be proved.

Small Parties' Shadow Parliament Established

AU0308164690 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 1 Aug 90 p 1

[Jan Fule report: "We Have a Fourth Parliament"]

[Text] Prague— An Extra-Parliamentary Assembly, in which those Czechoslovak parties and movements which did not obtain the necessary five percent of the votes in the elections will have the right to seat, was established in Prague on Monday [30 July].

Of the Slovak parties, the Freedom Party showed interest in political work in only Slovakia and waived the right to participate.

So far, it is impossible to talk about the participation of the Democratic Party—it mostly mentions the observer status. The Green Party is represented in the Assembly by only the Prague regional organization. Of the parties which run for the Assembly, the participation of Romanies and the Social Democratic Party is uncertain. The Union of Farmers and the Countryside will most probably disintegrate, but the succession parties or movements have already shown an interest in working in the Assembly. The Czechoslovak Socialist Party belongs among the Assembly's founding members; that is, there is no doubt about its participation. The representatives of the Movement for Czechoslovak Understanding were also positive about the issue. Of the parties running in the Czech Republic, it is certain that Beer Aficionados will participate and so will the newly established Nationwide Democratic Party-Association for the Republic, which was established from the former Free Block. The role of the Czechoslovak Democratic Forum is uncertain and the Movement for Civic Liberty is satisfied with an observer's role.

The assembly remains open to all potential political parties, which will be established by splitting off from those parties which were defeated in the elections, or from those which will split off from Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence movement. The door is closed to all the eventual Communist Party of Czechoslovakia factions.

The assembly has two chambers—in the upper chamber there will be one representative of each political party and in the lower chamber the number of representatives will be determined by election results—and it assumes the role of being a platform for opinions of those parties and movements in favor of which the voters gave almost 17 percent of the votes; nevertheless it did not get into the Federal Assembly. At their meetings, they want to pass judgment on the work of the national assemblies, new drafts, and decisions made by governments. The most probable is the elaboration of its own draft constitution for the federation.

Shadow Parliament Functions Outlined

AU0308162090 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 1 Aug 90 p 1

[Jana Havligerova commentary: "The Political Scene Requires Politics"]

[Text] Parliamentary elections turned out the way they did. The political scene, which is in the process of taking shape, is, despite the uniformity in representative organs, quite illogical. It is very probable, however, that there will be a change before long. Two important political parties are awakening from the postelection shock—the Czechoslovak Socialist Party and the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party. Irrespective of sharp discussions within both parties, it seems that a new coalition is looming—if not exactly a coalition, then, at least, permanent contacts that could lead to agreement on important social issues. First, significant consensus has already been reached. The government's economic policy is considered by both parties as unacceptable and risky.

The Czechoslovak People's Party enjoys different status. By deciding not to take positions in the federal government, it clearly took the place of the parliamentary opposition. The party does not hide the fact that it intends to establish teams of specialists—potential candidates of the shadow government—nor does it hide the fact that it considers the Civic Forum's and Public Against Violence movement's hegemonic position in the governments, legislative organs, and other key positions as unhealthy phenomenon which prevents others from freely expressing their own opinions. Of course, its situation is not made easier by the fact that the party will have to newly formulate its relation with the partners in the Christian and Democratic union. This is how this party becomes gradually aware of the fact that in order to achieve ambitious goals it has to find allies.

On the other hand, other parties, which did not get into parliament due to the five-percent clause and which were thus prevented from entering official politics, are looking for partners as well. In the Czech Republic, they represent 17 percent of the voters, and slightly less in the CSFR. They want to continue representing this fifth of voters in a corresponding manner.

The platform for the presentation of opinions and standpoints will be, starting this week, the Extra-Parliamentary Assembly. It is the mirror image of the legislative branches of, and has identical procedures and roughly identical commissions to, those which the Federal Assembly has. This is because it wants to retain the idea in the voters' subconscious that the plurality of parties is needed as a tool for political accomplishments in a free country, but also because it wants to be a sort of school that will prepare, in a period of two years, representatives capable of entering the parliamentary politics.

The Green Party was the initiator of this establishment, the Czechoslovak Socialist Party provides premises for meetings, and the Czechoslovak People's Party offers help, but as an observer only. The opposition is shaping up and will be an important opposition. The postelection schock is over, and the conviction that the political scene requires politics is taking precedence over disputes of various kinds.

Slovak Premier on Language Law, Policy Issues

LD0408211690 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1930 GMT 4 Aug 90

[Text] Vladimir Meciar, premier of the Government of the Slovak Republic, in his television address today, discussed important questions and problems of interest to our public at present.

Above all, he clarified the circumstances relating to the adoption of the law on language of which 82 percent of the population in Slovakia was in favor. Vladimir Meciar said that the new law on language must not contradict our international obligations, and under our conditions it requires an agreement of political forces. The law on language will be adopted, but it has to acquire the character of a norm, which will help us to adjust the relations between our nations, as well as ethnic minorities, and will not complicate our life.

In his television address, Vladimir Meciar went on to speak about Slovakia's preparations for entering Europe. As he stressed, nobody is interested in how we are going to adjust internal relations between our republics, but Europe categorically demands that Czechoslovakia as a state entity be preserved in the future as well. We have to prepare for our entry into Europe in the field of legislation and to adjust ourselves in the sphere of economy, which will demand a lot of work.

Regarding the issue of the Slovak national policy, Premier Meciar in his television address today spoke in the sense that the government had expressed itself in favor of a distinctively national program that respects the needs of the citizens' territory and the security and development of Slovakia. This cannot be considered to be nationalism. On the contrary, Slovakia wishes to live in such an arrangement to seek its place in Europe in relation to the Czech Republic and jointly with it also in relation to other nations.

Slovak Parties Call for Confederation

AU0308141490

[Editorial Report] Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech on 30 July on page 1, under the headline "A Christian Democratic Movement Statement," carries a 150-word "(C)"-signed report on a statement issued by the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) Political Committee at its session in Zvolen on 26 July. The KDH adopted its statement in connection with the "formation of a Slovak national consciousness" and with the "role of Slovakia in Europe and in the world."

According to the report, the KDH statement contains the following: "The Slovak nation, as a state-forming nation, has the right to make a free decision about its constitutional arrangement when entering into an integrated Europe. We are in favor of a confederative constitutional arrangement between the Slovak Republic and the Czech Republic, and we are in favor of Slovakia's entry into Europe as a sovereign and equal entity. The KDH Political Committee is urging the speedy adoption of legislation to make the Slovak language the official and state language. Regarding the ethnic minorities living in Slovakia, the KDH will assert the implementation of the rights contained in the Declaration on Human Rights and in the Helsinki Agreement. The KDH Political Committee proposes a coordinated course of action with the other parties in Slovakia."

Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak on 31 July on page 1, under the headline "Support for the KDH's Appeal," carries a 100-word statement issued by the Slovak Freedom Party in support of the KDH statement on "the adoption of the idea of a confederative arrangement" between the Czech and Slovak Republics. According to the statement, "the Freedom Party offers the KDH its complete cooperation in asserting a common political aim—confederation. It appeals to all political parties in Slovakia to participate in asserting such a constitutional arrangement in the interest of a united political course of action."

New Appointments Made to Slovak Defense Council

LD0308153390 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1200 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Text] In connection with the changes in the government, Marian Calfa, the chairman of the State Defense Council, appointed new functionaries of the Slovak Republic State Defense Council. Its chairman is Vladimir Meciar, the deputy chairman is Vladimir Ondrus, and its members is Vladimir Meciar, the deputy chairman is Vladimir Ondrus, and its members are Rudolf Firkus, Jozef Belcak, Anton Andras, and Colonel General (Imrich Andrejcak).

Carnogursky Denies Budapest Newspaper Allegation

AU0308134690

[Editorial Report] Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 27 July on page 2, under the headline "Driving Out Lucifer With Satan," carries a 300-word report by Tibor Ferko on an interview with Miklos Duray, a Federal Assembly deputy, carried in the Budapest daily KURIR. According to the report, the interview contained the following:

"[KURIR] Let us talk about Slovakia. Jan Carnogursky, Slovak Republic deputy premier, has declared that Slovakia's aim must be the dissolution of the federation.

"[Duray] On 4 July, some Slovak National Council deputies demanded the declaration of an independent Slovakia with its own currency and central administration. Those who are striving for the dissolution of the federation are divided into two camps: The Slovak Christian Democrats are in favor of a slower course of action, whereas the Nationalists want quick changes."

Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 1 August on page 2 carries the following "denial" issued by Dr. Jan Carnogursky, Slovak Republic first deputy premier and chairman of the Christian Democratic Movement:

"On Friday, 27 July 1990, NARODNA OBRODA published an extract from an interview with Miklos Duray taken from the Budapest daily KURIR. In this interview it is stated that I allegedly declared that Slovakia's aim must be the dissolution of the federation. This information is not founded on the truth. I have never declared such a thing nor anything similar to it."

All-Slovak VPN Assembly Session Held

AU0308155690 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 30 Jul 90 pp 1, 2

["sm"-signed report: "V. Meciar Is Premier of All Slovak Citizens"]

[Text] Bratislava (from our correspondent)—On Saturday [25 July] the chairmen of the District Coordinating Committees of the Public Against Violence [VPN] movement gathered in the Mozart House in Bratislava for a working meeting. In the morning they listened to the financial statement of the VPN and discussed the method of financing the expenses connected with the [upcoming] communal elections. While discussing the planned restructuring, the chairmen expressed their support for the plan put forth by the Coordinating Center of the VPN. This plan assumes preserving a structure that respects differences, the features naturally arising in the regions, and, at the same time, the plan will provide a clear arrangement with clearly defined jurisdictions of the individual elements of the movement.

Most of the participants also supported the motion that, in addition to the representatives of the movement from individual districts, the deputies and members of the governments elected from the VPN, lists of candidates take part in the work of the Slovak VPN Assembly. On Saturday, the working Assembly of the VPN of Slovakia should decide on the new structure of the movement and on the schedule for its implementation.

In the afternoon, Vladimir Meciar, premier of the Slovak Republic; Jozef Kucerak, deputy premier; Augustin Huska, minister [privatization]; and Milan Zemko, deputy chairman of the Slovak National Council attended the meeting. Deputy Premier Kucerak explained the topical tasks of the government related to the implementation of economic reform during the next two years. Minister Huska answered questions on the privatization procedure and how to simultaneously eliminate the influence of the "old structures." He also explained how the government will proceed in transforming the huge enterprises into smaller joint-stock companies. During the next one to two months, it should involve several enterprises in each sector. In the spring, following the adoption of the transformation law, the big enterprises should be transformed into the small and medium-sized joint-stock companies. When applied in practice, this would mean that the enterprise management, together with the privatization commissions and the assessment teams, would judge the condition of individual plants. The flourishing ones would be automatically transferred to joint-stock companies. The direction apparatus, the failing enterprises, and the centers would be assigned to pass some of their property onto the thriving organizations. The remaining assets should deposited in a central Slovak fund and a special group would process them. This procedure would, according to the economists, effectively and within a short time limit and gradually eliminate the old administrative structures. Concurrently, Deputy Premier Jozef Kucerak affirmed that good care will be taken to prevent any advantages in the sale of shares for those who gained their wealth by dishonest means in the past. It could be prevented by a property taxation system or by the demand that a purchaser of a larger bloc of shares provides a proof of having his property taxed.

Premier Vladimir Meciar then spoke about the plans of the government that intends within two years to take over the management of the economic life in Slovakia. This includes foreign trade, in which the competence should be gradually passed onto the individual enterprises, as well as the sector of the Ministry of Interior, and the mass media sphere. He went on to comment on the difficult position of the VPN movement as a political force caught in the middle between the unitarian and the separatist concepts. He was rather critical of the inability of the movement to explain and follow its own realistic policy, which reckons with a strong Slovak Republic in the federal union. Meciar termed the fact that some political forces and groups benefit from taking from the movement's policy its detailed national concepts a clumsiness on the part of the Public Against Violence movement. The discussion with the premier could not avoid the topic of national rights. Mr. Meciar agreed that he is the premier of all citizens of Slovakia and stressed the sovereignty and jurisdiction of the Slovak Government and parliament in the entire territory of Slovakia. He suggested that these problems must be dealt with carefully and in accord with the international agreements on human rights. The final results should be embodied in the constitution which is being drafted.

New Slovak Journal To Support Independence

LD0408151890 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1400 GMT 4 Aug 90

[Text] NOVY SLOVAK [NEW SLOVAK] is the name of a journal the publication of which will begin in Slovakia this month. Both its name and graphic layout are similar to SLOVAK, the press organ of the Hlinka Slovak National Party, the publication of which ceased in 1945.

NOVY SLOVAK journal aims, like its predecessor, to enhance national awareness of the Slovak nation. It will express the stances of the newly formed Slovak National Democratic Movement and support the effort to achieve the independence of the Slovak Republic.

Agriculture Cooperatives Union Issues Statement

LD0208222790 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1700 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] Today the leadership of the national, Czech-Moravian, and Slovak Unions of Agricultural Cooperatives [cesko-moravskeho a slovenskeho rolnickeho svazu] adopted a joint statement on the present tense situation in agriculture.It demands that the Federal and Republican [Czech and Slovak] Governments as well as the ministries in charge no longer make decisions about agriculture without consulting farmers.

It expresses a fundamental disagreement with the statements by some government officials that purchase prices of agricultural products—above all beef and milk—are the maximum prices. According to the appropriate regulations concerning changes of price lists, these are fixed prices and there is no basis for talking about the maximum prices.

The statement goes on to demand the abolishment of the limitation of the export of meat and meat products, which is being limited by the so-called lists of goods valid beginning 1 July, according to which there is a need to go through license proceedings before exporting meat. It demands that those price bonuses which were not paid are used for supporting the export of beef and eventual compensation export. It demands that in the case of reducing the retail prices of meat, milk, meat, and milk products, it is guaranteed that the equal share of falling prices is borne by trade and processing enterprises, agricultural producers and state and that it will not be allowed that falling retail prices will be borne only by agricultural sector.

Taking into account a long-term drought, it also demands that grain loans by agricultural enterprises are annulated and paid from the federal reserves.

If the governments and the ministries in charge do not tackle the described state and if the danger of an economic disintegration of agriculture persists, the farmers are prepared to defend their justified interests, stresses the statement by the leadership of the Cooperative Agricultural Unions in conclusion.

GERMAN UNIFICATION

Notice to Readers: *In order to provide information concerning German unification in one location for the benefit of our readers, material on that topic from the FRG, GDR, and other media is now being published in the German Unification Attachment to the West Europe DAILY REPORT.*

Conflicting Reports on De Maiziere Candidacy

Candidacy Denied; Reports Said 'Wrong'

LD0508111390 Hamburg DPA in German 1049 GMT 5 Aug 90

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere (CDU) [Christian Democratic Union], will not be available as the top CDU candidate in Brandenburg for the Land Diet elections in the GDR on 14 October. Deputy Government Spokeswoman Angela Merkel stated this to DPA today in response to an inquiry. All press reports to the contrary are wrong, she said today. The decision on the top candidate for the future prime minister of Brandenburg will be made by the CDU in the next few days. According to this information, De Maiziere will not be available.

Deputy Claims De Maiziere To Run

LD0508073890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0131 GMT 5 Aug 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—According to the People's Chamber Deputy Bertram Hoenicke, Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere will run as the Christian Democratic Union's [CDU] top candidate for the office of Brandenburg prime minister at the Landtag elections in the GDR on 14 October. The parliamentarian confirmed this to BERLINER MORGENPOST. DEUTSCHE LANDBLATT, basing its information on CDU circles, reported De Maiziere's willingness to run as a candidate yesterday.

According to BERLINER MORGENPOST, Hoenicke says that the CDU Brandenburg Land group in the People's Chamber offered the candidacy to De Maiziere on 17 July. His acceptance was received on 25 July. The CDU expects to have a good chance against the Social Democratic Party [SPD] with the government chief at its head—the SPD has previously been viewed as the favorite in Brandenburg, with Council President Manfred Stolpe as its top candidate.

According to Hoenicke, the Brandenburg CDU will nominate candidates for the Landtag and the all-German elections on 18 August in Cottbus.

Government Reportedly Orders Stasi Files Sealed

LD0508082290 Hamburg DPA in German 0147 GMT 5 Aug 90

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—The GDR Government intends to keep the files from the Ministry for State Security [MfS] (Stasi) strictly sealed. Anyone obtaining data, which is not already public, relating to people from these files, passes it on, publishes it, changes it, or destroys it is to be punished by up to two years in prison. According to the BERLINER MORGENPOST's information, this is envisaged in a draft law, the text of which is in the paper's possession, it says today.

According to the draft law, the files are to be stored in a special depository and administered by a specially empowered government official with a three-man advisory board. Viewing the files will only be allowed for following up Stasi crimes and for the purposes of research under certain conditions. Information on one's own personal data in the Stasi files is only to be available to those who can credibly show that they have suffered detriment through the data collected by the Stasi.

State Prosecutors Discuss Possible Stasi Amnesty

AU0408191090 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 4 Aug 90 p 1

["da."-signed report: "East Berlin Wants Amnesty for Markus Wolf"]

[Excerpt] Berlin—According to information received by DIE WELT, FRG State Prosecutor von Stahl and his counterpart, General State Prosecutor Seidel, met in West Berlin yesterday [3 August]. The topic of their discussion was the question of amnesty for former members in the state security service.

In the view of the GDR Government, all members of the Foreign Intelligence Collection Main Administration of the former State Security Service should be granted amnesty. This law would then also apply to the chief of the administration, Markus ("Mischa") Wolf. According to available information, it is so far unclear whether West Germans who spied for the GDR should also be exempt from punishment. [passage omitted]

SPD Official Calls for Ban on Former Stasi

AU0308125790 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 1 Aug 90 p 3

[Report on interview with Potsdam Bezirk Government Representative Jochen Wolf by Jan v. Flocken and Erwin Jurtschitsch; place and date not given: "No Place for Stasi Radicals"]

[Text] Jochen Wolf (49) calls himself a "convinced Social Democrat." One-and-a-half months ago he was appointed government representative for Potsdam Bezirk. It is his task to take the bezirk into the structure of the future Land of Brandenburg and, in particular, to work out an economic and administrative reform.

He left his job in the Potsdam Transportation Combine to help democracy achieve a breakthrough.

Jochen Wolf became popular for his exemplary action in coming to terms with the State Security Service [Stasi]

past in the former council of Potsdam Bezirk. All of the approximately 1,000 council members were supposed to sign a statement assuring that they never worked for the former Ministry of State Security [MfS]. In this way, 30 people were uncovered; 13 of them had to resign from their offices after corresponding checks.

[DER MORGEN] What made you carry out this signature campaign in Potsdam?

[Wolf] This was the result of my opion that certain people are not suitable for public service. In the FRG, too, civil servants have to swear an oath of office before they are accepted for employment. I simply wanted to give the ex-Stasi people a chance to be honest. They should be aware of the fact that they did something wrong.

[DER MORGEN] Those who did not sign the statement lost their jobs. Don't you see this as a form of professional ban specific to the GDR?

[Wolf] I consider the imposition of professional bans justified in principle. Those who are outside the basic liberal-democratic order have no place in the state's service. We cannot employ any radicals there. Either one serves democracy or one wants to undermine it. Only one of the two things is possible.

Those who served the MfS for years are certainly not democrats. For all I care, these people may establish companies and become millionaires, but as civil servants they are unacceptable in a democratic state based on the rule of law.

[DER MORGEN] Do democracy and a professional ban not contradict each other?

[Wolf] One has to distinguish carefully between these things. Nowhere in the world did such a comprehensive system of professional bans exist as in the so-called socialist countries. Therefore, much fuss was made about every postman in the FRG who belonged to the German Communist Party, following the motto: "Stop, thief!" [sentence as published]

[DER MORGEN] What were the reactions to your signature campaign like?

[Wolf] The whole thing took place in a calm and business-like manner. There was no resistance. Talks were held with the Stasi people uncovered by this campaign.

[DER MORGEN] What were these talks like?

[Wolf] Most people demonstrated understanding. They were mostly young people. I would say they were acting out of conviction, on the basis of goodwill, and did not think much about it. Often they did not even realize in what kind of sophisticated monitoring apparatus they were working. They had Marxism-Leninism as some kind of substitute religion.

[DER MORGEN] Do you really believe that all Stasi people admitted their actions?

[Wolf] I do not know how high the percentage is of undetected Stasi agents. But if we do not now trust the people, we can give up anyway.

[DER MORGEN] You do not intend to investigate the employees again, for instance with the help of Stasi files?

[Wolf] I have enough things that disturb my sleep; I do not necessarily want to study secret files of the MfS.

[DER MORGEN] Are you for destroying these files?

[Wolf] No, they should be kept. But not for self-service, so to speak, like in the West Berlin Document Center. I am strictly against making such files accessible to the persons affected.

[DER MORGEN] Why?

[Wolf] I do not want to live through a "night of long knives." The pressures of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] regime were aimed in the same direction as those in the Third Reich. There was ideological spying deep into the most intimate areas, denunciations, and many other things. All this could lead to acts of revenge. The Stasi was an extreme part of intellectual terrorism. Before the question of guilt has been cleared up—and this can be done only through the files—there must be no amnesty for Stasi people, either.

[DER MORGEN] Do you consider your campaign in Potsdam an example for other social areas?

[Wolf] I can only recommend using this method. It is certainly not the Philosopher's Stone, but it is definitely an effective method which should be used.

Diestel: Stasi Files Must Not Be Destroyed

LD0608074790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0219 GMT 6 Aug 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Interior Minister Dr. Peter-Michael Diestel and Klaus-Peter Schwalm, member of the Normannen Street citizens committee, have spoken out against the destruction of Stasi files. In Monday's [6 August] BERLINER ZEITUNG both men explained their viewpoints on the fate of this personal data of over six million citizens, which was gathered illegally by the former Ministry for State Security.

In the GDR interior minister's opinion, speedy destruction would be the "cleanest solution." However, that is quite out of the question, since the necessary rehabilitation of those affected by the repressive measures called for the proper and responsible consultation of these files over a long period. [passage omitted]

In the view of Klaus-Peter Schwalm, the citizens' data are the citizens' personal property. "They alone should decide what happens to them." [passage omitted]

SPD's Kamilli Calls for Leaving Coalition

LD0608074490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0630 GMT 6 Aug 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—On Monday [6 August] morning, Karl-August Kamilli, deputy chairman of the SPD [Social Democratic Party], advocated that his party should leave the GDR Government's ruling coalition.

He also told ADN that the GDR should declare its accession to the FRG immediately upon signing the unification treaty. The December date for the pan-German elections should be adhered to.

Kamilli said this shortly before the departure of his party's Presidium members for Bonn, where they will be attending a session of the SPD Party Executive this morning.

PDS Calls Early Election Date 'Very Dangerous'

LD0308174990 Hamburg DPA in German 1539 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—The successor party to the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Party for Democratic Socialism [PDS], has described the early election date as very dangerous in foreign policy terms. PDS Chairman Gregor Gysi said that the two-plus-four talks are not yet concluded, and there is still no unification treaty.

The date has been brought forward in order to rob the PDS of the opportunity of preparing for an all-German election campaign, Gysi criticized.

Left-Wing Forces To Form Election 'Unified List'

LD0508205790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1954 GMT 5 Aug 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The left-wing forces from the GDR and the FRG today agreed to form a unified list for the all-German elections. They have now realized that founding an electoral party is not possible, for procedural reasons.

The central elections office of the Party for Democratic Socialism [PDS] announced this evening that the problems were above all of an organizational, not political, nature. After 22 people signed the appeal for the founding of the "Left List/PDS" this afternoon, it turned out in the discussion that there were procedural problems. In order to be able to represent the same positions on the same list at the parliamentary elections, a unified list will now be formed, which will comprise the PDS in the GDR and the electoral party "Left List/PDS", which is to be founded in the FRG. [passage omitted]

Interior Minister Diestel Becomes CDU Member

LD0408034890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1739 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Interior Minister Dr. Peter-Michael Diestel joined the Christian Democratic Union [CDU] today.

A spokesman for the minister said that the local CDU Zeuthen nr. Berlin section accepted Diestel unanimously as a member today. [passage omitted]

Diestel, who was among the cofounders of the DSU [German Social Union], resigned his party membership on 30 June. [passage omitted]

Listening Stations Said Used During '89 Exodus

AU0408194390 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 4 Aug 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Tapping Affair"]

[Text] According to a report in a Hungarian newspaper, the listening installations of the GDR Intelligence Service near Bratislava played a particularly important role when last year a great number of GDR citizens fled to Hungary and from there via Austria to the FRG. Some of the recordings made in this connection ended up in Moscow, it was stated.

'Excerpts' From Law Governing Laender Formation

AU0308113790 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1 Aug 90 p 9

[Unattributed report: "Excerpts from the Constitutional Law on the Establishment of Laender in the GDR (Laender Establishment Law), which was passed by the People's Chamber on 22 July"]

[Text] Article 2

(2) Changes of the borders of the GDR laender which are demanded as a result of polls of citizens in villages and towns require a state treaty between the laender involved.

Basic Regulations

Article 3

(1) The GDR is a federal state in which the separation of powers is guaranteed. Legislation is bound by the constitutional system, the executive power and the judiciary are bound by law and order.
(2) The constitutional system in the laender must correspond to the principles of the republican, liberal, democratic, socially and ecologically oriented state based on the rule of law. In the laender, kreises, and villages the people must have a representative body which is the result of general, direct, free, equal, and secret ballots.
(3) The villages must be given the right to settle matters of the local community on their own responsibility within the framework of the laws. The kreises also have

the right to self-administration within the framework of their legal sphere of tasks and in line with the laws.

Article 5

Republic law shall override laender law.

Legislation of the Republic and of the Laender

Article 6

The laender have the right of legislation as long as this law does not give the power of legislation to the Republic.

Execution of the Laws of the Republic and Administration of the Republic

Article 12

The laender implement the laws of the Republic as their own matters as long as this law does not specify otherwise.

Article 13

(1) If the laender implement the laws of the Republic as their own matters, they regulate the establishment of the authorities and the administrative procedures if laws of the Republic do not specify otherwise. The Council of Ministers may pass general administrative regulations on this.
(2) The Council of Ministers oversees the laender in implementing the laws of the Republic in line with valid law. For this purpose, the Council of Ministers may send representatives to the supreme laender authorities and, with their approval, also to the subordinate authorities.

Article 14

(1) If the laender implement the laws of the Republic at the order of the Republic, the establishment of the authorities remains a matter of the laender if laws of the Republic do not specify otherwise. The Council of Ministers may pass general administrative regulations on this.
(2) The laender authorities are subordinate to the orders of the responsible supreme authorities of the Republic. Implementation of the order is to be ensured by the supreme laender authorities.
(3) Supervision of the Republic concerns the legality and usefulness of the implementation. For this purpose the Council of Ministers may request reports and presentation of files, and may send representatives to all authorities.

Financial Sovereignty of the Republic and of the Laender

Article 19

(1) The Republic and the laender separately cover the costs which result from fulfilling their tasks. If the laender act at the order of the Republic, the Republic pays the expenditures resulting from this.
(2) Republic and laender are autonomous and independent of each other in their budget management. They have to take into account the requirements of a balance of the entire economy.

(3) Financial means are to be given to the laender to such an extent that the laender are able to fulfill their tasks in the necessary manner. The different financial capacities of the laender are to be balanced appropriately; in this connection, the financial capacity and the financial requirements of the villages and kreises are to be taken into account.

Succession to Assets

Article 21

(1) With the establishment of laender in the GDR, the assets of the bezirks are transferred to the land to which they belong.
(2) Regarding the assets of the Republic that were originally primarily destined for administrative tasks, which in line with this law are not administrative tasks of the Republic, these assets are to be transferred without charge to the bodies that are now responsible for these tasks, and to the laender, if these assets are used at the moment, and not only temporarily, for administrative tasks which are now to be fulfilled by the laender in line with this law.
(3) The Republic transfers its other assets to the laender if it does not need them to fulfill its own tasks.

Transfer of Institutions and Personnel

Article 22

With the establishment of laender in the GDR, the administrative organs and other institutions of the Republic that serve public administration or the administration of justice, are transferred to the laender if they fulfill the tasks of the laender in line with this law. If tasks are transferred to the laender, an appropriate proportion of the personnel is also transferred to the laender.

Transitional and Concluding Regulations

Article 24

In the sphere of the laender's power of legislation, the law of the Republic continues to be valid as laender law if the laender do not themselves use their power of legislation.

Coming Into Force

Article 25

(1) The law comes into force on 14 October 1990.

Current Real Estate Prices Reported

AU0308103690 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1 Aug 90 p 3

[ADN/ND report: "DM85 for One Square Meter of GDR"]

[Text] East Berlin—The current average price of one square meter of land in the FRG amounts to 97 Deutsche marks [DM]. Prices for building land vary between DM50 and about DM8,000 per square meter depending

on the location. This was reported by the GDR Economics Ministry in a press release on Tuesday [31 July]. The basic value for the GDR area is the average value in the FRG in 1985-89, which is DM85 per square meter. The price is influenced by the territorial structure of the laender, the kind of building land, the size of the towns and villages in question, the commercial or industrial location, and the degree of development.

Four Former GDR Radio Staffers Reinstated

LD0408090590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0733 GMT 4 Aug 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Radio has reinstated four staff members who were reprimanded and banned from pursuing their careers under the Socialist Unity Party of Germany regime. A statement published on Saturday [4 July] expresses the management's regret about the repressive measures adopted against Ursula Prochnow, Dr. Wernfried Maltusch, Michael Schiewack, and Gerd Schulze, promising them redress. The management was thus following a recommendation from the Rehabilitation Committee, it was said. On behalf of the Broadcasting Council, it dealt with the events and noted "that even persons carrying responsibility in broadcasting have contributed to state injustice." All democratic forces working in broadcasting should help to clear up the events. Anyone found guilty should be punished. The commision will continue to examine further applications for reinstatement.

USSR Reportedly To Curtail Training Flights

LD0608080390 Hamburg DPA in German 0001 GMT 6 Aug 90

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—In the future, Soviet Armed Forces stationed in the GDR will cut back their training flights, especially thoses held at night. The Social Democratic Party politician and adviser to the GDR minister of disarmament and defense [Egon Bahr] said this yesterday evening on Berlin Radio. He was met with general agreement during his talks with the Soviet military.

Bahr is of the opinion that the Soviets in the GDR should not have more rights and duties than foreign troops in the Federal Republic. At the moment, a potential for conflict is building because of the presence of the troops in the GDR and this has to be quickly resolved. They do not wish the good relations with the USSR to be marred by these problems.

Meckel To Attend Kreisky's Funeral in Austria

LD0508130890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1001 GMT 5 Aug 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Markus Meckel, foreign minister and deputy chairman of the GDR Social Democratic Party, will take part in the funeral ceremony of Bruno Kreisky, former Austrian federal chancellor and vice president of the Socialist International, in Vienna on Tuesday, 7 August.

During his visit to Austria, Meckel will also meet Willy Brandt, Socialist International president.

Mongolia Said Hopeful of Developing Relations

LD0608082190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0703 GMT 6 Aug 90

[Text] Ulaanbaatar (ADN)—Mongolia considers it logical that Germans in the two states arrive at an understanding and overcome the anomalies of their division. It supports this process and, for its part, is prepared to develop relations with a united Germany at all levels, said Dashyn Byambasuren, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Committee for Social and Economic development, in an ADN inteview.

The task is to preserve the positive things that have developed in nearly 40 years of MPR-[Mongolian People's Republic] GDR cooperation. He emphasized that the results of bilateral cooperation, such as the printing works, the meat combine, and the Ulaanbaatar carpet factory, as well as the Bornuur state farm, are characterized by a high scientific-technological level. The principle of mutual benefit has been implemented more strongly in cooperation with the GDR than it has with other countries.

According to Byambasuren, the greatest possible efficiency should be the most important criterion of all cooperation, in the future as well. The politician characterized Mongolia as a developing country in which renewal is advancing intensively. The Mongolian economy will be a market economy, an open economy interested in processing mineral and other natural resources, with the most modern technology, into goods which can compete internationally. He considers that cooperation with Germany has been very effective in the areas of light industry, food industry, ferrous and nonferrous metal processing, electronics, printing, timber processing, and mining.

Mongolia's objective is to renew equipment and technologies in the next five years, and not less than 40 percent of all investments are used for this purpose. "We would be pleased if German firms were to participate in this," the vice premier emphasized. The setting up of highly productive small enterprises can become an area for Mongolian-German cooperation. In this connection Byambasuren referred to the law for the protection of foreign investments passed this spring, and to Mongolia's intention to conduct trade and economic relations with foreign countries in freely convertible currency as of 1991, going over to world market prices.

Government Statement on Iraqi 'Aggression'

AU0608133190 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 3 Aug 90 p 2

[MTI report: "Hungarian Position on the Iraq-Kuwait War"]

[Text] The Hungarian Foreign Ministry has issued the following statement:

The Foreign Ministry of the Hungarian Republic learned with concern of the armed aggression carried out by the Republic of Iraq against the State of Kuwait in which the Iraqi troops crossed the borders of the State of Kuwait and penetrated into the country's capital on 2 August.

The Iraqi military action caused great concern in the international and domestic public opinion. In line with the UN Charter and the norms of international law, the Hungarian Government considers any step directed against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of other states to be unacceptable. The Hungarian Government rejects the solution of interstate conflicts by military means and is in favor of solving disputes by peaceful means, through negotiations.

In order to solve this new conflict as soon as possible, a conflict that seriously threatens the peace and security of the area, the Hungarian Foreign Ministry regards it necessary to immediately withdraw the Iraqi troops from the territory of the State of Kuwait and start negotiations on halting the hostilities. The Hungarian Foreign Ministry supports the UN Security Council resolution and calls for its immediate implementation.

Through diplomatic channels, the Hungarian Foreign Ministry has requested information from the two sides on the reasons behind the outbreak of this military confrontation and on its developments.

Goncz Interviewed on Role of President

LD0408175790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 4 Aug 90

[Interview with President Arpad Goncz by correspondent Akos Mester on the "168 Hours" program; place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Mester] Speaking to many people, colleagues, about how they imagine the public role of the president of the Republic, there are many different (?conceptions)....

[Goncz, interrupting] I know, they even ask for programs, although the president cannot have a program.

[Mester] It is not just a question of programs, but there are a lot of people who would like to see the president of the Republic in the role of one who quietly balances the forces; in other words, they think you are the type, the kind of person, who can act as a benevolent peacemaker, even during the most snarling party struggles. Can you undertake such a role?

[Goncz] Well, this more or less goes with the office. As for what result this role will achieve, whether or not one undertakes it, also depends on the other sides. By no means can I interfere in a debate about some sentence or other in an article of a bill.

[Mester] Yes, but I wonder whether you can overcome your original, primary, party leanings? Let us not forget that you came from the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ].

[Goncz] Perhaps we should assume that I will put the nation's interest before the interest of any party, be it the Hungarian Democratic Forum or the SZDSZ. On the other hand, we should not assume that I would give up my political conviction, my liberal conviction, amid any (?cirumstances). [passage omitted]

[Mester] My question is: What role do you ascribe for yourself in the forthcoming period.

[Goncz] My concept is that I express the whole of the Hungarian nation; in other words, that in this place I represent every social class and every Hungarian. It is obvious that I have to represent, first and foremost, the interests of those who are most in need of this representation— the most down-and-out strata. And I must add that these are the ones who least often get a good word in the country. So if I put in a good word on their behalf, and for them, then perhaps this, too, is something one can do. One acts as an equalizer not only if one intervenes in the debate of specific draft bills. There is also the role of social equalizer, and that is the one I want to undertake above all.

[Mester] If I may make a subjective remark, on many occasions I would have been curious to know, in the course of debates concerning public life, what your personal position was—and, I would add, your personal feelings. I am thinking of entirely topical issues. For example, most recently there was the speech Kalman Keri made in parliament, which stirred up a fairly large dust storm, and in which he said, more or less, that the Horthy Army had waged a just war against the Soviet Union because they were fighting against the communists. Do you share this view, or do you argue with it? So, what is your standpoint?

[Goncz] (?Look), this sentence is taken out of the context of Kalman Keri's speech as a whole. Precisely because it interested me and I wanted to get acquainted with the issue, I read the entire speech. This sentence did indeed figure in it, but not precisely in this context. And if it is removed from there, it is much stronger than it is within the context. Naturally, the historical truth, the complete truth, is that it was Hungary that declared war on the Soviet Union. Naturally, the justness or unjustness of this war was determined not even by its outcome, but by the fact that it did not serve Hungarian ideas. Kalman Keri took part in this. He also belonged to those who were active in the interest of bringing the war to an end. So it can be presumed that he did not consider this war just, either. I consider it probable that here it is a

question of a slip of the tongue [elszolas], to which one cannot ascribe too great a significance. In this context, therefore, taking it outside its interconnections, it at all events reflects an incorrect view.

[Mester] I raised it only because the affair, over and above its concrete aspects, still indicates a kind of danger. An inconsidered sentence or a sentence that can be interpreted in many different ways can rally behind it people or political forces who, or which, are not at present in parliament but who would like to legitimatize themselves, even vis-a-vis the public—who will rally because they think that now their time has come. To be quite specific, I have in mind those who would like to revert the country back to 1938.

[Goncz] Yes, yes, it could rally them. I would consider this extraordinarily dangerous. Such a tendency is indeed making itself apparent in the country. During the past 42 years, a great deal of things have been swept under the carpet, both in our country and in the neighboring countries as well. In different countries, different things were swept under the carpet. In our country what was swept under the carpet, first and foremost, was the politics of the period 1920-1944, an objective evaluation of which has not taken place. Therefore, in some manner, it lives in people's awareness as a kind of ideological detritus. We believe that the policy of a future Hungary must be directed toward the future and not the past. That is why it is dangerous if any statement of this kind—by mistake or not by mistake—amplifies the feelings of nostalgia that would turn the country back toward a beautified—a wrongly beautified—past, and would slow down its progress toward the 20th or 21st century.

[Mester] Yes, indeed, from debates in public life it becomes obvious that very often people do not consider the consequences of the opinions they have exprssed. Therefore, the debates are often transformed into snarling contests and lead to nowhere. Here is the debate about the press, for example. You have not yet voiced an opinion whether you also think that the press should exercise collective penance. Or perhaps, in your view, the press also had a role in fighting for democracy and will have a role in its functioning?

[Goncz] The press did have a share in insuring that democracy did not function for some time, and had a role in its birth afterward. This was the same for secondary school teachers, doctors, engineers, more or less any public-opinion-forming groups or any groups which were part of the public opinion. If I demand a search of conscience retrospectively, than I should demand this from the whole of Hungarian society and not from one or other occupational groups.

[Mester] How could we reach that desirable level of public trust without which society could not really function?

[Goncz] For this, well-settled internal conditions are necessary; this would be the first task. This is a legal, legislative, and political task. After this, if the conditions of a well-developing, healthy economy are also being created, then presumably people will be able to express themselves. As long as the economic life does not reach such a level, as long as people do not know what is to happen tomorrow, as long as they are living in uncertainty, they will look for scapegoats— and they do. They try to create enemies for themselves. This is in every way an unhealthy state of mind. I am convinced that the society of the country today is living in uncertain conditions, in an unhealthy frame of mind, and I am convinced that the basis is the insecurity about the future. It is not the first time I have said this: It is not the lack of perspective about the long-term future that arouses anxiety—because people hope, the majority of people hope, that we are finding our way out of the situation—but uncertainty about tomorrow. It is not the question of what will happen then, but what will happen in the meantime.

There are several reasons for this: the masses of unresolved—legally and economically unresolved—questions we have to face, without having anything to hold on to. In such cases, people use every possible channel through which they can complain: the parties, parliament, the Constitutional Court; letters arrive in masses. What saddens me is that a significant proportion of people is hurt not by what they do not have themselves, but what others have. What I can read out of this is the lack of social solidarity, but let us be frank. Those who have the time to write, in the majority of cases, are the weakened, helpless, much-abused pensioners. A significant proportion of the complaints is fully justified. The life of masses of people has been broken by the past 42 years; for this they did not even have to be in prison. Malicious ill-will could chase people from their homes, and deprive them of their assets. To these it is very difficult now to find compensation or even a just remedy of some kind. [passage omitted]

[Mester] Do you answer every letter?

[Goncz] Yes, I answer every letter. I also read the letters because for me these are very important; they are like a barometer. I used to joke that the only thing I do not undertake is changing washers on taps, arranging for telephones to be installed, and I do not try to find apartments for anyone because this is impossible. [passage omitted]

[Mester] Do people talk to you on the buses and trams?

[Goncz] Of course, they ask for God's blessing on me. This is the most frequent. Or they say: Do not abandon us. I am very much affected by this.

[Mester] How do you regard this? As historical justice, a late gift from life?

[Goncz] It is very difficult to answer this. [passage omitted]

[Mester] Is it possible to remain a writer while holding such a public office, while at the center of power?

[Goncz] I was prepared for this question. It is possible to remain a writer, to remain in the writer's life, because being a writer has two parts: collecting the material and using it. In this respect, with reference to the first part, what I am doing now is immensely interesting and important, at least as important as having been in prison. If I try to observe the world and myself from a distance, than I am doing the work of a writer. However, it would be an exaggeration to say that I am now working on any specific piece of work. This is something in the distance, but I have this impression that I am in a phase of spending. I would not like it to last too long. Five years is a cycle; I will be 72 then, and perhaps I still will have the chance to write something. [passage omitted]

Newly Elected President's Biography Noted

LD0308135590 Budapest MTI in English 1146 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Text] Budapest, August 3 (MTI)—Arpad Goncz, president of the Republic of Hungary, is 68 years old.

He received a doctors' decree at the law faculty of the Pazmany Peter University of Arts and Sciences in Budapest, then worked as clerk at the Land Credit Institute. There were, however, periods when he was unemployed, or worked as unskilled worker.

His political career began in the Independent Smalholders' Party, where he assisted the work of the party's general secretary. He was meanwhile active as head of the Budapest organization of the Independent Youth Organization and became managing editor of the "NEMZEDEK" [GENERATION] weekly.

Mr Goncz continued his studies, completing four years at the Agricultural Sciences University of Godollo, but he was unable to acquire his diploma as he was expelled from the university in 1956. Two years later, as the accused of the second order in the Bibo trial, he was condemned to life imprisonment. He served six years, and was freed in 1963 under an amnesty measure.

From that time on, he worked as literary translator and specialist writer, and continued his activity as a free-lance writer. He received the Wheatland Prize for the outstanding interpretation of English literature, and his activity in Hungary was recognized with the Attila Jozsef Prize in 1983.

Mr Goncz served as president of the Writers' Federation from December 20, 1989. He was a founding member of the Network of Free Initiatives, then of the Alliance of Free Democrats [AFD—SZDSZ] and the Committee for Historical Justice.

This spring, at the election of parliamentary MPs, he became a member of parliament as leader of the AFD's budapest territorial list, and the new parliament elected him Speaker at its founding session. In this function, under the terms of the Constitution, he also served as interim president of the Republic of Hungary until August 3.

Gyorgy Szabad Elected National Assembly Speaker

LD0408002890 Budapest MTI in English 2256 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Text] Budapest, August 4 (MTI)—During its special session Friday night [3 August], the Hungarian parliament elected Gyorgy Szabad as speaker of parliament with 236 votes for and 53 votes against.

Alajos Dornbach was elected deputy speaker of parliament with 271 votes for and 15 votes against.

As is known, during the founding session of parliament Arpad Goncz was elected president of the National Assembly. Following this, he became interim president of the Republic by strength of the Constitution. At the same session MP Gyorgy Szabad was elected deputy speaker, and was then commissioned to act as speaker of parliament.

The election of Arpad Goncz as president of the Republic relieved him of his post as speaker of parliament, so the post of speaker and one of the deputy speakers remained vacant.

The leaders of the parliamentary party groups and the emissiary of independent MPs laid down the principle of nominating parliamentary officials in the agreement preparing the founding session. Accordingly, the speaker is nominated by the leading parliamentary party, the Hungarian Democratic Forum, and the deputy speakers by the Alliance of Free Democrats, the Independent Smallholders' Party and the Hungarian Socialist Party.

The next plenary session of parliament will be held on Monday, August 27.

Biographic Notes

LD0408022790 Budapest MTI in English 2259 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Text] Budapest, August 4 (MTI)—Gyorgy Szabad, speaker of the Hungarian parliament, was born in Arad in 1924. He was eight when his family moved from Cluj to Budapest. After matriculation here, he continued his studies at the philological faculty of Eotvos Lorand University of Arts and Sciences, from where he graduated in 1950. Worked for the national archives from 1949, lecturer in 1954, assistant professor two years later, and university professor in 1970. Defended his academic doctor's thesis in 1967, and gained membership of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 1982. Has published a multitude of books, informative works and scientific articles.

Gyorgy Szabad was elected member by two revolutionary committees in 1956. Founding member of the

Hungarian Democratic Forum, and member of the National Board from the spring of 1989. Elected member of the new parliament through the Budapest regional list, was acting speaker of parliament from May 2, 1990.

Biographic Notes: New Assembly Deputy Speaker

LD0308023490 Budapest MTI in English 2311 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Text] Budapest, August 4 (MTI)—Alajos Dornbach, newly elected deputy speaker of parliament, was born in 1936 to a teachers' family. Matriculated in the grammar school of Kecskemet. Graduated from the law faculty of Eotvos Lorand University of Arts and Sciences in 1958. Took part in the 1956 uprising, and was member of the university revolutionary committee and the National Guard. For this, he served a short prison term, and was not allowed to work as a lawyer before 1964. Was active in Gyongyos until 1973, and since then in Budapest.

Became a noted oppositionist. Defended editors of Samizdat publications in court, and helped the legalization of the Federation of Young Democrats. Member of the Committee for Historical Justice from 1988. Was one of those who initiated the re-examination of the Nagy Imre trial. Fouding member of the Alliance of Free Democrats. Won a seat in parliament through the Budapest regional list of the Alliance of Free Democrats.

National Assembly Approves Development Program

LD0408041290 Budapest MTI in English 1238 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Excerpts] Budapest, 3 August (MTI)—The government moved to approve the compromise proposed by the National Interest Coordination Council to fix the minimum wage at 5,600 forints. This was reported by government spokesman Balazs Laszlo during his Friday briefing on the government's Thursday session which extended late into the evening hours. The measure, to be introduced as of 1 September, affects about 1.2 million workers, employed primarily in the administration and various companies.

The government also approved a three-year development programme—worth 84,000 million forints—for developing telecommunications and the establishment of 520 million new telephone lines, in addition to the existing one million lines. The completion of one-fourth of the investments alone requires 352 million dollars. This amount is expected to be forthcoming partly from the World Bank and the European Investment Bank (EIB), while some of it is also due to be provided by foreign entrepreneurs. The World Bank is due to grant 150 million dollars, and the European Investment Bank is to grant a 100 million dollar loan, with a 15-year maturity and five years of grace. [passage omitted]

The government heard the account by Minister of Industry and Trade, Akos Peter Bod, who reported on the initiation of bankruptcy proceedings against seven companies in the red (including among others the Diosgyor machine factory, the driving gear and lift factory and the Danube shoe factory). The companies owe a total of 17,000 million forints to the social security, and a similar amount to the tax office, in addition to the 10,000 million forints outstanding to the National Oil and Gas Trust. The companies are also in the red to each other as well as to various transport companies. The debt stock of the seven companies concerned runs to 6,000 million forints. By initiating the bankruptcy proceedings the goverment hopes to increase financial discipline.

The appointment by the president of the Republic of the HUNGARIAN NEWS AGENCY's new director-general was also discussed in the government session. MTI's chief editor and deputy director-general are to be appointed by the prime minister.

Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky informed the Council of Ministers about the need to set up an interest representation bureau in the Republic of South Africa, in view of the expanding economic links.

Assembly Adopts Law on Local Government

LD0408184190 Budapest MTI in English 1655 GMT 4 Aug 90

[Text] Budapest, August 4 (MTI)—Under terms of the law on local governments, passed by Hungarian Parliament on Friday night, it recognises and protects the right to self-governing of local communities, as set down in its preamble. The law makes possible for local communities of constituents to manage local public affairs independently and democratically, either directly or through the elected local governments.

Hungarian cities with a population of over 50 thousand are to be declared as cities with county right by parliament, at the request of the local body of deputies. Detailed regulations concerning the self-government of the capital are to be set down in a separate legislation, to be drafted by November 30, 1990. Overseeing the probity of local governments will be the task of commisaries of the republic.

A resolution was also passed by parliament concerning the counties, their names, their seats and the sphere of activity of commisaries was also outlined. The related regulations will enter into force on the day when members of local governments are elected.

The present Council system is to be dissolved after the law on the election of deputies and mayors is enacted, following the elections on September 30. The institutions and partial regulations of the election law all serve the purpose of establishing and unfolding the system of local governments. The former system of joint councils is to be abolished, and each settlement will be free to elect a body of representatives in conformity with the constitutional rights.

The new law changed fundamentally the system of nominations, thereby abolishing all privilages of political organs to provide equal rights to each constituent to take part at elections.

Under terms of the new legislation, settlements with a population of less than 10,000 deputies are to be elected on so-called small lists, while those of larger settlements and the districts of the capital will be elected at two stage elections. Thus half of the deputies are to be elected in individual constituencies and the other half from the lists to be fielded by various political parties.

Mayors are to be elected in each district of the capital including a chief burgomaster.

Antall Defines Country's Role in World War II

LD0308210990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1107 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Speech by Prime Minister Jozsef Antall at National Assembly meeting in Budapest—live]

[Excerpts] I ask for leave to speak because I was not present at the debate in the National Assembly in connection with the speech of our fellow deputy, Kalman Keri, when a stance was requested from the government. [passage omitted]

I consider it necessary to take a stance so that this can be resolved with historical credibility and fixed in the National Assembly diary. All the more so, if not the speech, but the aggression which has evolved in connection with the debate, has given opportunity for statements and publications at home, and in certain foreign countries and the press, I consider it necessary to state this question responsibly and precisely.

One of the questions I wish to speak about is that, in the National Assembly, historical questions can arise continually through comparison and inferences. All the same, I do not think it is the task of the house to debate historical questions in all their details. [quotation omitted] I do not think it is the task of the National Assembly to take a stance in academic questions, including questions of history. Our esteemed fellow deputies have the right to avow several stances regarding various historical questions. passage omitted] There are questions on which we do not have the same opinions, but that does not mean that we could question each other's political integrity or views. For just this reason, in my opinion, when we are talking about continuity, this question cannot be put in front of anyone with a demand for consensus.

I would like to say a few words also about the fact that, in connection with the evaluation of World War II—the role played by Hungary during World War II—today, both in what has been said and in the information given in the press, they have not quoted the words of Kalman Keri for a long time. They do not quote Kalman Keri's own improvised speech before the National Assembly, but, as usual, they further develop Kalman Keri's contribution, and describe the further developed text as Kalman Keri's view. In connection with this, I think that I will have to refer not just to the text, but—so that there is no kind of misconception, no kind of misinterpretation—I think it is also necessary to refer here to the father of the House's World War II role and view, that of a Hungarian soldier who has entered his 90th year, which in itself makes it obvious that misunderstanding and misinterpretation in no way serve correct evaluation.

I have to say this because it must be publicly known, and this scene in the Hungarian National Assembly cannot remain in anyone's memory as if here, a representative of a Hungarian Army which identified with Hitler's Germany during World War II, or which had some kind of alliance loyalty to this, had spoken—as the debate in the Hungarian National Assembly was already quoted yesterday in certain Romanian papers.

Regarding Kalman Keri, it is enough if I refer to a biographical lexicon which appeared in London in 1985, which describes Kalman Keri's life in a few lines, and states: Outstanding figure of the anti-Nazi military underground movement in World War II, the organizer of the new Hungarian Army in 1945. I think this had to be said, so that there can be no kind of erroneous misinterpretation, no erroneous view on how Kalman Keri could view the past. [passage omitted]

Yesterday's contribution by Deputy Miklos Szabo was a historical reference. Our fellow deputy, as does anyone, has the right to identify himself with any era, year, revolution, as the inheritor of this. Kalman Keri reacted to this, and I quote him verbatim: Then came, as they say, the Horthy regime. Permit me to say, this, too, built up an army, an army which I must say fought and defended the homeland staunchly. The fact that they also ended up at the Don is unfortunate. I continue: So at last, let us concede that its battle was just, if it fought against communism. This is a faithful quotation, verbatim, from the National Assembly minutes.

Naturally, this is not a developed, detailed, nor do I say a comprehensive analysis of either the era or the Hungarian Army. But a few things have to be set down: One, apart from his life, is that Kalman Keri referred to the fact that an army was born, in which not just he, but many people of the older generation, both within and outside the present National Assembly, were members. And they were proud members of the army which was created and which, as the independent army of the country, wished to serve this country with suitable esprit de corps, suitable pride, and with love of homeland in itself. Kalman Keri wished to publicly defend this army and its one-time soldiers. And, if we think how much humiliation and how much unjustified injury has smitten this army, then I think that the esteemed house and the esteemed public opinion will understand that Kalman Keri, as an old soldier of this army, wished to emphasize the integrity and honesty of this army. This

means that he placed the honor of this army in the forefront, and we must believe and accept this, even if this army was led, on the wrong side—if you like—and for the wrong reasons, into a war which for Hungary could only bring catastrophe.

I think that this army and its soldiers must be evoked also when, for example, we think of the summer of 1944, and of those historical events which also did not receive adequate emphasis, and which are also worth remembering. In the summer of 1944, in Budapest, a putsch was prepared—in the presence of Eichmann, et al, for example—when Budapest Jewry would have been deported had it not been for the commander of the Esztergon Armored Division, Colonel Koszorus—to whom, by the way, an appropriate memorial has still not been erected in Hungary to this day, but who is now recognized. Col. Ferenc Koszorus led the armored division into Budapest which ousted the divisions led by (Baki) and his men, and to whom thanks can be given that deportations from Budapest did not take place. These, too, belong to the proud history of the Hungarian Army, just as do those soldiers who became the victims of Nazism in the framework of the anti-Hitler political movement.

I think that nobody casts doubt—and I think there is not one single political party in this National Assembly which does not consider itself the heir of those political ideas and political parties which confronted the (?one-time) Germany during World War II. I think that we are all in these ranks, and among the first is General Kalman Keri.

I would like to add to the concrete observation, to the undeveloped observation—which we can safely say in this wording was an unfortunately brief observation—the following: Let us concede that its battle was just, if it was fought against communists. This observation is not less than the expression of the dilemma which not only Kalman Keri's brief observation refers to, but also Andras Kovacs's film on 15 October, or several other foreign and Hungarian historical works, which refer to the fact that it was the great dilemma of the Hungarian Army and Hungarian politics that during World War II the political forces confronting Hitler's Germany, which joined together to topple Hitler's Germany, contained the Stalinist Soviet Union. And those soldiers, officers, and generals had the moral problem of the fact that when they fought on the side of Hitler's Germany, in this sense truly against communism, at the same time they were the allies of Hitler's Germany and fought against the Allies. This observation obviously means nothing other than to show that the Hungarian Army's officer corps, generals, had this rather schizophrenic historical state of mind; to show what it meant to fight against the Soviet Union when the Soviet Union was at the same time both one of the powers allied against Germany and also the country, the empire, and the Army, which, when they ousted the troops of Hitler's Germany from Hungary—and this is a historical fact—helped to create in Hungary the possibility of a communist political system. Then, after the year of the change, with the continuation of the occupation, to create the bases of a Stalinist dictatorship. [applause]

This is the historical issue in question, and this is what was related by this observation in which a general wished to highlight the mental state of the Hungarian Army and the peculiar historical situation it was in. But this was done in such a way—and why do we not quote this—with Kalman Keri saying they unfortunately ended up at the Don Bend. He did not identify with this.

This is what I wanted to say, stating at the same time, that not one political party, including all the parties which make up the government coalition—all the more so because those political parties which operated as parties already at the time, the FKgP [Independent Smallholders Party], KDNP [Christian Democratic Peoples Party], were the political trustees of the political opposition to Hitler's Germany. And, the MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum] avowed and avows as its own these same political parties and political directions, which confronted Hitler's Germany. Thus, I would like to declare that it cannot even arise that this declaration or these observations in the slightest way mean an identification with or a justification for Hitlerism during the war. This is what I wanted to state first; and second, that Kalman Keri endeavored and endeavors to continually restore the spirit of the Hungarian Army as a body, and the honor of the body, after the historical vilification. In connection with this, it cannot be doubted that injustices also occurred. Nobody wishes to identify with all that was said in connection with this, and all that which was committed during World War II as a sin and an inhumanity, and all that happened in this area in the region, but this is deeply spurned, and the government parties and the government unequivocally and profoundly condemn both the Hitlerite and the Stalinist dictatorships.

Thank you for your attention.

Katona: Ready for 'Talks of Merit' With Romania

LD0508213390 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 5 Aug 90

[From "The Week" program]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] I do not know what we can make, especially in light of the accusations levied repeatedly at "The Week," of those covert or openly unfriendly, provocative steps as for example, the statement by one of the representatives of Vatra [Romaneasca], according to which, I quote, the Magyars consciously prepared the incidents at Tirgu Mures and elsewhere, and the sign was given by Laszlo Tokes. Furthermore, this statement was made public on the same day they declared that Romania's national day will now be 1 December rather than 23 August, for at the

time this was when the union of Romania and Transylvania was declared. [passage omitted] Let us see how the political state secretary at the Foreign Ministry [Tamas Katona] evaluates all this.

[Unidentified correspondent] Mr. State Secretary, recently there was an interview in one of the Polish papers with one of the representatives of Vatra Romaneasca, who said that in the Transylvanian countries where the Magyars are in the majority, they continually provoke the Romanians there, especially since 1920 when, as we know, the borders were changed. What is your opinion on this?

[Katona] This is about the same as if, in the case of Munteanu, the student leader, they were to say that Munteanu attacked the miners and hit the iron rods in the miners' hands with his head. And, thus he behaved aggressively. This is an excuse of convenience, an incomprehensible accusation which has cropped up again and again for 70 years, which derives from a bad conscience, which has precious little basis.

The minority can be, or is, in a position where it could hurt the majority in very few places in the world. What is more, let us be precise, it is not even in the interest of the minority to hurt the majority. The interest of the minority is to be able to live in peace together with the majority.

These well-known accusations usually come out at moments when the fate of both the minority and the majority is not going well.

[Correspondent] As a matter of fact, we could also say this is a diversionary tactic. But, at the same time, it is noticeable in Romania that some kind of rollback has started.

[Katona] From this point of view, the negotiations we held with State Secretary Romulus Neagu were very interesting. One of the points seemed to touch on precisely this question. He was explaining in a very irritated manner that in Hungary—and that the Hungarian press also writes things of this nature—nothing has changed. The old system is carrying on, except with all national color, with nationalist under or overtones. In contrast to this, there have been great changes in Romania. How does the Hungarian Government prove that something has also changed in Hungary? There was just one reply which my minister [Jeszenszky] could give to this. He highlighted the actual situation very well, for he was able to say: Mr. State Secretary, not one member of the Hungarian Government was previously a member of the Communist Party.

Another thing is that, in general, this kind of attacking behavior is the characteristic of those people who do not have any real readiness for negotiations, who come empty-handed [indistinct interruption by correspondent]. For just this reason, the most comfortable thing is to attack immediately, to force the negotiating partner into a defensive position, and if the individual is inexpert enough to do the person this favor, then it is easy to catch him.

[Correspondent] At the same time, it seems that they spent most of their time looking for scapegoats. For example, they make numerous accusations against Laszlo Tokes; moreover, an enormous press campaign has been started against him in this period, that as a matter of fact he is responsible for every atrocity that hits the Romanians.

[Katona] The national feeling, which was stifled for a long time, has played an extremely important part, also in the most quiet ways, in the revolutions of this region. This truly is a driving force, and, from very many points of view, is a perfectly justified feeling. People really do like to belong to a community of which one can have an overview; a community of human size, not just of intangible great conceptions. In my time, it was always said: I am one member of a peace camp of 600 million. No, we cannot have an overview of 600 million. We can have an overview of 10 million, and there we are truly capable of feeling some kind of community feeling. At the same time, we know well that this genie which has been let out of the bottle—this national spirit—can also be very dangerous, as soon as this becomes a spirit of the past, of the turn of the century; a spirit between the two wars, or even some kind of fascistic, chauvanist spirit. That's when this national spirit does not mean: I will try to be different from the rest, but means: I will try to sweep away the others.

[Correspondent] When I interviewed Romulus Neagu, he was indeed comparing the Romanian and Hungarian press and said to me: Look, sir, why is your press any better, if it keeps blaming Romania, too.?

[Katona] It is a very big difference whether someone who likes playing with fire will become an arsonist or a fireman. This is more or less the difference in this issue, if we want to put it very drastically. In fact, there are impatient voices in the press of both countries. However, I think it is again something like: Andras Suto hit the club with his right eye. Unfortunately, this was just the other way around. One cannot put a sign of equality between the two things when the situations differ. One cannot see the aggressor and the defender in the same way. I do not want to generalize this for the Hungarian-Romanian situation by any means. Nor would I like to amplify some sort of a chauvinist, Hungarian voice in this matter. I feel, however, that the Hungarian Government cannot do anything else but present its rather practical facts to primarily its Romanian negotiating partners and secondarily to the populaton of the country, or the press if you like, in a very patient and very sensible way; and, if there is mention of this subject, represent this standpoint at international forums, too.

[Correspondent] So, we can say in conclusion that Hungary is ready for further talks....

[Katona, interrupting] Further talks of merit. Certain promises had been made in Alba Julia. Promises, just like last December during Gyula Horn's visit to Bucharest; promises which, we think have not come true up to the present day, unfortunately. We are still hoping that one day the promises will come true, that it will at last be understood in every country that if you do not want to be tyrannized, then do not tyrannize anyone either, if we want to quote a Magyar author from Transylvania, a certain Baron Miklos Wesselenyi.

Leaders View Pentagonal Cooperation

LD0508193190 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 5 Aug 90

[Report on interview with Prime Minister Jozsef Antall and Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky by unidentified reporter; place and date not given]

[Text] Pentagonale—this is how the name of the regional, government level cooperation of Italy, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Hungary sounds in Italian. The countries of East-Central Europe, after an interval of several decades, are once again listening to each other. For this to be achieved, however, the quiet or even noisy revolutions in our region were necessary. The question now is: How can countries that are very different politically and economically from each other, NATO and Warsaw Pact member states, nonaligned and neutral ones, keep a common vehicle on the road?

[Begin recording] [Reporter] The European cooperation outlined in Venice was not for a united states of Europe, but for the cooperation between regions, relations between regions. How does this fit in with present-day European concepts?

[Antall] I believe that institutions of European unity have already been formed; the Council of Europe that is working today, or the Common Market, or the European Free Trade Association are institutional bases of European unity, so we do not need to create new institutional systems, we have to make the existing ones operational, and we have to link certain regional cooperation to these institutions. Such relations, based on the cooperation of five countries, with the participation of Italy, Austria, Yugoslavia, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia in the sphere of economic activities, could facilitate the establishment of a system of cooperation by setting up a network of infrastructure, roads, and railways, which would promote the development of these countries. But this is also serving cooperation in the whole of Europe; in the north the nordic council is already functioning; cooperation in the Baltic region, or the Balkans, is also possible, so in Europe, within European unity, we can also talk about regional cooperation. It is for this reason that I thought it necessary to mention that if Poland wishes to join this cooperation, we should make this possible for Poland, and Poland at the same time could fulfill the role as bridge as a Baltic country, a country which is adjoining the northern region—the Baltics—and thus could ensure the cooperation of another region.

[Reporter] In this case, could the idea emerge among the participants, or from those outside, that this means the rebirth of a new Habsburg monarchy?

[Jeszenszky] I do not believe that there is a threat of this; at the same time there is an element of reestablishing something which existed before, a Central European unity, economically, culturally, and in transport infrastructure. At the same time this is only one of its functions, and I think that in reality the aim is to establish a new balance. It could also have another function—pentagonal cooperation, it must be said, almost completely coincides with the change of political systems, the collapse of communism. Among many people, especially foreign observers, concern has arisen that this could create new conflicts, in particular because of the ethnic mixture of the Central European region. Indeed, freedom means that debates and disputes have also become free.

This form of cooperation could play an important role in eliminating serious disputes, because not only Slovaks, Czechs, and Hungarians, and not only Hungarians and Yugoslavs meet, but there are two other nations, intermediaries if you like, and this has worked very well already, at the Copenhagen conference for example; and now also with respect to certain drafting questions, the Austrians and Italians have played a very important part as intermediaries.

[Reporter] The foreign minister spoke about a new kind of balance. However, we know that in the equilibrium of Europe, a large, united Germany appears as a new factor. Somewhere this, too, has to be balanced.

[Antall] I consider this new Germany to be a genuinely democratic constitutional state, and I think that today one cannot speak about a German danger. We have very good relations with Germany, and the FRG and GDR have been our most important economic partners to date. Thus, the two together surpass everything else, so it is obvious that in the future, our relations will be equally important with the united Germany.

However, we are not attempting at all to build up some sort of one-sided system of relations; therefore, beside Germany, we have developed close links with France, and I consider British relations also good, and in this Italy also plays an important role. Italy is one of the most prosperous and strongest economic powers in Europe. Northern Italy, the economic region organically linked to us, is among the most important; thus, Italian-Hungarian economic cooperation not only has good traditions dating from the Middle Ages, but also at present and, at the same time, beside a flexible Italian industry, the great role of small and medium-sized ownership in Italy could also serve as a model for us. [sentence as heard] Italy therefore is one of the cornerstones of this mixed and multifaceted system of relations.

Since the question often arises, particularly among viewers, that we are dealing with foreign policy issues

and building foreign relations, while in Hungary grave economic and social problems are occurring, I can honestly say that these trips are not just pleasure trips for us, and we spend the shortest time possible on them. The role of these trips is to open the gates from an economic point of view and to develop magnetic circles, as it were; very often they mean bridging loans, and they serve to stabilize the financial situation. These foreign relations therefore definitely have internal political, economic, and —I could really say— sociopolitical significance, because if Hungary and the Hungarian Government did not have the prestige that has been developed, then the country's economic situation would not be what it is today; we would be in a much graver condition since, in the past few months, Hungary was threatened by direct financial catastrophe more than once. [end recording]

Minister on Talks With USSR Over Trade

LD0508151790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 5 Aug 90

[Text] International Commercial Relations Minister Bela Kadar has stated that discussions must begin with the Soviet Union about trade accounted in dollars. However, this would only be possible when the prospects for the Soviet economy have been clarified. In a radio interview, the minister also said that haste with regard to privatization and the role of foreign capital could result in significant financial losses.

Goods Turnover Agreement Discussed

LD0308144490 Budapest MTI in English 1116 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Text] Budapest, 3 August 1990 (MTI)—Lajos Berenyi, deputy secretary of state of the Hungarian Ministry of International Economic Relations, and Yevgeniy Osadchuk, Soviet deputy minister of external economic relations, headed the delegations at the talks focusing on the development of turnover trade in 1990, and the conditions of the trade payments agreement for 1991, in Budapest during the week.

Laszlo Timar, senior official of the Ministry of International Economic Relations, told MTI that both sides have met the terms of the 1990 goods turnover agreement, valued at 3,700-3,800 million roubles for each side on a time-scaled basis. The only exception were Soviet deliveries of petroleum and crude oil.

At the current talks, the Soviet partner promised it would set down, by mid-September, the amount of energy it can deliver from various sources until the end of the year. As this depends on the development of the Soviet internal situation, further backlogs can be expected, he said.

A draft agreement, which sets down the switch to dollar accounting in full as of January 1, 1991, was also initalled at the talks. According to calculations, this will mean a loss in terms of trade for Hungary of 1,000-1,500 million dollars in the first year. The Soviet Union is not expected to purchase a considerable proportion of the Hungarian goods offered in exchange. At the same time, Hungary continues to need Soviet oil deliveries. As it did so earlier, the Hungarian side again proposed that the Soviet Union grant preferential prices for Hungarian aricultural and food industry products, as the Soviets will be interested in the import of these products on a long term basis. Hungarian experts also believe it possible that Hungary might receive a long-term maturity loan from the Soviet Union. For the time being, however, the Soviet partner has rejected both proposals.

Last year, goods turnover showed a 792 million rouble suprlus in favour of Hungary. In the first half of 1990, the surplus was small, but again rose to some 800 million roubles by the end of July.

The partners agreed that the surplus on January 1, 1991, calculated in roubles, will be re-calculated into dollars with a multipliying factor of 0.92. The surplus is not expected to be smaller than the present figure.

The sides agreed to hold further talks in September, and to sign a concrete agreement for 1991, at the latest, by the end of the third quarter of the year.

Soviet Tourists 'Storm' Border Posts

LD0508125290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 5 Aug 90

[Text] In our morning bulletins we heard that thousands of Soviet tourists, incensed by being subjected to excessively long waiting periods, stormed border stations along the Polish, Czechoslovak, and Hungarian borders. Agnes Papp asked (Pal Illes), duty officer of the National Border Guard Command, about the background to the affair:

[Begin recording] [Papp] What does the Hungarian Border Guard know about this?

[(Illes)] In terms of the restrictive measure introduced by the Soviet side, as of 1 August, small border traffic was suspended at the crossing posts of Lonya, Barabas, and Tiszabecs, which had been opened for small border traffic. However, all those Hungarian citizens who traveled to the Soviet Union and all those Soviet citizens who are staying in Hungary can make use of Zahony and these three crossing posts, which were opened for the purpose of small border traffic, to return home. Therefore, there is no question of any substantial pileups, of masses of people being stuck here in Hungary or on the other side. With personal passports, one can only cross to the territory of either country at the Zahony border traffic control post.

[Papp] When will these border crossing posts be opened?

[(Illes)] These are being operated continuously for those who traveled to Hungary or the Soviet Union in the period after, or rather before, the measure was introduced.

[Papp] Are negotiations under way with the Soviet side about changing this measure?

[(Illes)] To my knowledge there are no negotiations of any kind for the time being. [end recording]

Center Accord Supports Jaruzelski Resignation

LD0408193490 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 4 Aug 90

[Text] The Center Accord supports the departure from office of President Jaruzelski as soon as possible, even in the course of the next few weeks, stated one of the leaders of this group, Senator Jaroslaw Kaczynski, at a news conference. He indicated that an appeal for Wojciech Jaruzelski to resign from his post had so far been signed by 125 deputies and senators.

The selection of a new president, who in the opinion of the Center Accord should be Lech Walesa, for a specified period of time, until the moment that a new constitution is elaborated and passed, should help eliminate the causes of social frustration. The Center Accord leader counted among such causes the unclear arrangement of power, the property rights of the nomenklatura, and the ossification of the arrangements for transition.

Senator Kaczynski also spoke of the fact that the propaganda campaign in the Western mass media, directed against the Center Accord, is inspired from Warsaw. It is intended to demonstrate that the Center Accord is the opponent of the only currently democratic force in the country—that is, the government camp. He stressed that such a thesis, however, implies that Poland is in essence an undemocratic country, and the consequences of this campaign strike in actual fact not so much at the Center Accord but at Poland.

Senate Adopts Resolution on 1947 Vistula Action

LD0308220490 Warsaw PAP in English 2027 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 3—The Polish Senate adopted here today a resolution on the Vistula action of 1947 reading in part:

"The social and political changes going on in Poland and neighbouring countries pose new challenges for us. In view of the presence of the Ukrainian minority in Poland, the question of mutual recognition, understanding and conciliation between Poles and Ukrainians acquires special importance.

"Next to friendly co-existence, throughout history there were mutual harms and prejudices. There was hatred, and even bloodshed. That past weighs heavily over our relations. That past should be overcome.

"Aiming at conciliation, we want to show our difficult history in the true light. In particular painful events that happened in our common motherland in the post-war period need to be disclosed.

"The Vistula military action carried out in southern and central-eastern Poland by decree of the Presidium of the Council of Ministers of April 24, 1947 was one of them."

"When they started the liquidation of the troops of the Ukrainian insurgent Army, the communist authorities forcibly displaced people, most of them Ukrainians. In three months about 150,000 people were expelled from their homes and deprived of their property, seats and temples. Their return was made impossible and then difficult for many years.

"The Senate of the Republic of Poland condemns the Vistula action in which the rule of collective responsibility, typical of totalitarian systems, was applied.

"The Senate of the Republic of Poland will make efforts to have the harms sustained in result of the action compensated as far as possible."

Senate Document Praises Belorussian 'Sovereignty'

LD0308210390 Warsaw PAP in English 1957 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 3—The Polish Senate adopted here today a resolution addressed to the Belorussian nation, following the proclamation of the state sovereignty of the republic. The resolution reads:

"Guided by the right to self-determination, we welcome with joy the declaration on the state sovereignty of Belorussia proclaimed on July 27 as a sign of the aspiration of the Belorussian nation to freedom.

"Poles, for whom freedom and independence of the motherland are fundamental values, are fully aware of this landmark moment in the history of Belorussia, a neighbour we want to live with as equal and close nations.

"Citizens originating from the Polish and Belorussian nations live on both sides of our border. We hope our co-existence will be shaped in tune with the best traditions of our common history, characterized by tolerance and co-existence of many cultures.

"We want to develop cooperation with Belorussia in all spheres.

"We wish the Belorussian nation it could freely shape its own face and living conditions and head towards a better future."

Customs Office Bans Certain Exports to Iraq

LD0308162190 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1515 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Text] The Customs Office chairman has issued an absolute ban on the export to Iraq of any materials intended for military use.

Elements Needed for 'Strong State' Viewed

AU0308150990 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 31 Jul 90 p 1

[Jerzy Surdykowski commentary: "A Strong Republic"]

[Text] With increasing frequency in the Polish Republic, which we recovered after the elemental changes of 1989,

an ever more vociferous and aggressive minority has continually tried to intimidate the majority. In most cases this has happened with the state looking on passively. With increasing frequency, one is beginning to hear—and quite correctly—accusations that the state is weak and lacks the will and the instinct for self-preservation.

This article is not going to be about the weakness and indifference of the police force in the face of an increasingly active criminal confraternity. The thief or the street criminal goes about his business with the same degree of impunity as he did in the final years of the Polish People's Republic [PPR], and our present police has the same pedigree as its predecessor—namely, the militia. This feature is also important, because, leaving aside the criminal aspect, it helps to create a certain climate in which the political phenomenon that I want to discuss today is breeding.

I want to talk about the way the law is being infringed upon with impunity and how other citizens are forced to suffer losses by various demonstrators, protesting groups, or even by strikers. In a free country, everyone has the right to strike, to protest, to air his views and to attract public attention to his grievances. This is normal. But in a free country nobody can be allowed to impinge on the freedom of other citizens, cause them to suffer losses, and to deny them their rights, no matter how worthy the cause may be. Let us take the memorable recent strike of railway workers that brought passenger, as well as goods traffic, to a halt. Let us take the road blockade in Mlawa, which then began to spread throughout Poland. Let us take the occupations of various buildings; for example, the occupation of the Ministry of Agriculture offices in Warsaw. Let us recall the blockade of convoys bringing parts for the Zarnowiec nuclear electricity generating plant, and most recently, let us not forget the protest action at the site of the dam construction project in Czorsztyn. In order to mount these protest actions, to focus society's attention on these issues, other people were hurt and everyone was the loser as a result. In order to present one's own point of view, the views of others—no doubt no less valid views—were trampled on.

In the United States, a democratic country without a shadow of a doubt, protests and strikes happen daily. There are no proscribed views or movements and even the Communists and fascists have their organizations. But as soon as any protest action begins to interfere with traffic, it will soon have to reckon with a strong police intervention and possibly fines and arrests. I will not even bother to mention the reaction to occupations of offices or road blockades. If you cause loss to somebody or you infringe upon their rights, you have to compensate them for it or risk a fine. Strikers are entitled to suspend work and form pickets outside the factory, but they are not allowed to occupy their workplace, because it is not their property, and so on.

Why do Western democratic countries resort to state force to prevent violent confrontations between their citizens, and why is our Polish republic unable to do so? The answer is clear.

First, the memory of the PPR and the brutality of its special militia units is still very fresh in our minds. Second, the laws of our republic are only just being created; for example, the legislation on strike action. Third, the present government has a shaky parliamentary backing. The present parliament is the product of a compromise with a now nonexistent political force—namely, it is questionable whether this parliament represents society's choice. As a result, only the most tentative use of force was made at Mlawa and at the Ministry of Agriculture offices. In all the other cases everybody continues to do as they please and no doubt will continue to do so.

In the final years of the PPR, the state had every chance to crush the 1988 strike protests (not just the spring strike in Nowa Huta), and to delay the "roundtable." In its twilight years, the PPR was an example of a proverbially sick state, although it still tried to wield the big stick and had all the legal machinery to enable it to do so. A strong state is created through the support of its citizens and by the stability of the majority in its parliament, not through the strength of its repressiveness, or through a one-man dictatorship and his decrees.

Our republic has a long way to go before it achieves that quality of strength. It will not achieve it through the proposed election of a president by the present parliament, nor by putting such a president high above the parliament and government. The only thing that is capable of giving our republic that sort of strength is: first, the completion of the process of changing the PPR's laws to the laws of a free, but well organized state; and second, through free elections which will give us a president who has the support of the people and a clear and stable parliamentary majority. A majority that will not flinch even when the government is forced to use force against a militant minority.

Commission Discusses Separate Warsaw Police

AU0308141290 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 1 Aug 90 p 2

["J.O."-signed report: "A Different Police Force for Warsaw?]

[Text] There was no lack of controversy at the 31 July sitting of the Senate Commission on Human Rights and Law Observance, which debated a draft bill entitled: "The Police in the Warsaw Metropolitan Area."

The bill proposes the creation of a metropolitan police force for the Warsaw area. Such a force would be under the direct orders of the Central Headquarters through Warsaw's police chief. According to the people behind the proposal, such a step would reduce police bureaucracy and improve the efficiency of Warsaw's police in

its fight against crime. It would also have an experimental element that was designed to fill the loopholes in the recently adopted legislation on the police.

Strong doubts on the matter were voiced by the recently appointed deputy ministers of internal affairs, Jan Widacki and Jerzy Zimowski, as well as by Senator Leszek Piotrowski. They considered the differences between the draft and the regulations already in force to be minimal and thought that such an "experiment" would make the fight against crime more difficult. They also stressed the fact that recent legislation on the police was so new that one had to see how it worked in practice.

Government Describes Powers of State Police

AU0208191390 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 31 Jul 90 p 1

[Jerzy Jachowicz report: "Halt, This Is The UOP"]

[Text] The government has laid down the circumstances and rules according to which functionaries of the Office for the Protection of the State [UOP] may use firearms, apply indirect force, and search people and baggage. A directive containing these rules was laid down by the Council of Ministers at its Monday [30 July] meeting. It includes safeguards against a possible abuse of Interior Ministry powers.

UOP functionaries may only use these powers while on duty, and only in relation to cases which come under the UOP's sphere of responsibility, in other words cases involving state interests or state security.

The directive says that only people suspected of having committed a serious crime, carrying weapons or dangerous implements, or escaping from their place of detention or from a prison convoy can be fired upon.

Before a shot can be fired, the words "Stop—UOP" have to be shouted, followed by "Stop, or I'll shoot." If that does not work, the functionary must first fire a warning shot in the air, and only then aim at the person in question. Shooting must not be intended to kill or maim. There is a ban on shooting pregnant women, children aged up to 13, and elderly and infirm people.

After firing, the functionary must safeguard all evidence and prepare a report justifying his decision to shoot and explaining all the circumstances.

Before a UOP functionary can check anyone's identity, he must produce his own identity card so that the person involved can see it and note its number and the name of the issuing office.

Wherever possible, personal searches should be carried out by persons of the same sex, while baggage searches must be carried out in the presence of its owner. In both events, UOP functionaries are to prepare a report for their supervisors.

Diplomats and other persons enjoying diplomatic immunity on the basis of international agreements and protocol are exempt from personal and baggage searches.

The Council of Ministers directive divides instruments of direct force into physical and technical. Technical instruments include handcuffs, straitjackets, nets, and road spikes. The suspect must be handcuffed to the functionary.

When using physical force, a person must not be struck except in self-defense.

Handcuffs are to be used following instructions from a court or prosecutor. Exceptionally, they can be used on persons displaying aggressive behavior or attempting to escape. They may not be used on minors aged below 17. In the case of exceptionally aggressive persons, the handcuffs are to be applied from the rear.

Straitjackets, belts, and nets are to be used on persons whose aggressive behavior is dangerous, also to themselves. If a straitjacket is kept on longer than two hours, the sleeves must be loosened, says the directive.

If road spikes are used to stop a vehicle, all traffic in both directions of the obstruction must be stopped at a distance of not less than 100 meters from it.

University Square Protest for Detainees' Release

AU0408132490 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1000 GMT 4 Aug 90

[Text] At around 1130 [0830 GMT], some 200 to 300 people gathered in Bucharest's University Square chanting antigovernment slogans and demanding the release of all detainees, including Leon Nica and Dumitru Dinca. A ribbon running between the University and the Dunarea [Danube] restaurant marks a zone free of communism.

Munteanu To Participate in News Conference

AU0308133290 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1500 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Text] The Students League of Bucharest University will organize a news conference today, 3 August 1990, at 1800 [1500 GMT] in the Faculty of Law in Bucharest. Participation will include that of Marin Munteanu, president of the Students League and honorary president of the National Students Congress, who was released yesterday, 2 August 1990.

Representatives of Romanian and foreign mass media are invited to participate.

Pledges To Struggle for Democracy

AU0308180990 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1700 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Text] On the occasion of the release of the Student's League president, Mr. Marian Munteanu, a news conference organized by the league began in the hall of the Law Faculty at 1800 [1500 GMT]. Mr. Munteanu stated that he was released but that the criminal investigations continue. He expressed the hope that the 13-15 June events of the current year will be assessed correctly by the Parliamentary Investigation Commission. Concerning the investigation and the evidence in the case, Marian Munteanu said that he had pledged not to make public revelations because the investigation continues.

Concerning the 14 June events, he said he was attacked at Bucharest University and that two people in miner's outfits tried to stop the attackers, who were brutally striking him.

Marian Munteanu then said: I have never supported any political formation but I have great respect for the historic parties. I shall continue to struggle for democracy. I have decided never to stop.

Holds News Conference

AU0308202190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1912 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 3/8/1990—On Friday afternoon, Marian Munteanu, chairman of the League of Students of the University of Bucharest, held a press conference in the Romanian capital city.

Referring to the charges brought against him, Marian Munteanu once again said he was not guilty and that he had full confidence in the two military prosecutors who opened a real inquiry into his case only a week before.

The league's leader expressed his wish to join the forces that support the democratization process in Romania on the basis of the principles of non-violence, competence and human dignity. He reiterated the idea that the student movement he leads is not political in character, its sole aim is to participate in the achievement of democracy in this country.

At the end of the press conference, a communique from the Students' League was read which outlined the organization's viewpoint on the release of its leader. It was announced that Marian Munteanu had been awarded a prize by the magazine "ASTRA" in Brasov.

Inquiry Commission's Proceedings Continue

AU0308180590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1704 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 3/8/1990—On Friday, August 3, the Inquiry Commission gathered in plenum to hear a report by its sub-commission that conducted an on-the-spot analysis of the events in Miercurea-Ciuc, seat of Harghita County, on June 13.

The commission also heard a report by Romania's Prosecutor General, Gheorghe Robu, on the stage of inquiries into the June 13-15 events in Bucharest.

The commission heard people who expressed their wish to testify before the plenum.

The proceedings of the commission continue.

Ex-General Vlad's Trial Set for 10 Sep

AU0308140490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1305 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 3/8/1990—A communique from the Prosecutor's Office was sent to ROMPRES showing that Col. Gen. (r) Iulian Vlad, a former minister secretary of state at the Ministry of the Interior and head of the State Security Department until 22 December 1989 will be brought before the Military Department of the Higher Court of Justice on the charge of complicity to genocide.

A criminal investigation showed that the former head of the Security Department attended the meetings of the now defunct Romanian Communist Party's Executive Political Committee on 17 and 22 December 1989 when he explicitly stated his agreement that firearms be used against demonstrators in Timisoara and elsewhere in the country.

Iulian Vlad also issued orders and coordinated the department's activity including that of security forces, in fulfilment of the decision to use force to put down the popular revolution, especially at Timisoara.

The trial was set for 10 September 1990, the communique signed by Romania's Prosecutor-General Gheorghe Robu also says.

Police Recover Weapons From Population

AU0508173290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1429 GMT 5 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 5/8/1990—Romania's police force recovered from the population in the first seven months of the year 574 rifles and 22,537 cartridges, along with 346 pistols, 133 machine guns, 61 sports rifles, 23 artisan weapons and 11 air rifles.

Daily Ridicules Doina Cornea's Dissidence

AU0408174790 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 22 Jul 90 p 2

["Papillon" -signed article: "Let Us Help Doina Cornea"]

[Excerpts] So, Mrs. Doina Cornea is continuing her triumphal tour of Europe, begging the governments, parliaments, and various international bodies to show as much ill-will as possible toward Romania. Well, the respective governments, parliaments, and international bodies, moved by her pathos and patriotism, are treating us with varying degrees of ill-will. This shows that Europe understands Mrs. Doina Cornea, while we do not. [passage omitted]

Do you know why Mrs. Doina Cornea is doing all this? It is quite simple, really. Last January, she was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize. Well, the competition is great. Gorbachev is also on that list. The poor woman had to try very hard and to fight for it. [passage omitted] In her capacity as former dissident and (then) member of the Front, her chances did not look too good. By October, she would have been forgotten abroad. Of course, modest as she is, this would not have disturbed her. But she felt it was her patriotic duty to bring a Nobel Prize to Romania. She has therefore decided to do everything she can to get it. There was another person who wanted this prize and even tried his best to win it, but failed. However, Mrs. Doina Cornea is no dictator, but a former, present, and future dissident. She has every chance of getting the prize. [passage omitted]

Now that we finally understand her, I think we should help her as much as we can in her noble mission. We should stop criticizing and bothering her, sit quietly on our benches like pupils who failed to pass their exams, and listen with reverence to the preaching of Madame the teacher and take notes. [passage omitted]

* Reasons for West's Refusal on Economic Aid

90BA0125B Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 25 Jul 90 p 1

[Anton Uncu article: "Why Are They Turning Their Backs on Us?"]

[Text] You don't have to be an expert to realize that Romania's economy is in a deep crisis and on a vertiginous decline, and has no immediate chance of being able to stop its fall somewhere at the "zero" growth level. It is becoming increasingly obvious that before the 20 May elections the provisional government, controlled by the NSF [National Salvation Front], triggered an avalanche of pay demands, thus distorting the cause and effect relationship between the the product obtained and the salary secured. Was that by mistake? If we accept the idea that it was done by mistake, we thereby accuse the provisional government of a damnable dilettantism that disqualifies it altogether. Was it intentional then? But that means that it deliberately bribed the electorate with effects scheduled to materialize after the Front secured a comfortable majority of votes at the 20 May elections, meaning after it won the power.

After 20 May, the president elect once again designated Mr. Petre Roman to form the new government. Mr. Roman did things right; he took note of the mistakes made and replaced the leaderships of all the economic ministries. The removed sacrificial team is no longer in a position to repair the preelection mistakes—if mistakes they were—while the new team has no reason to feel responsible for the mistakes of their predecessors.

Together with the new cabinet the prime minister also presented a program very generous in the matter of principles, rather vague where measures are concerned, and good from the viewpoint of general data, as we pointed out before; he also warned Parliament to expect a package of shock legislation...

Everything seems to be going okay and to make sense, except that production continues to plunge and pay demands to rise, because once begun this phenomenon is hard to stop, because it is difficult to make people understand why Ion got his, while Gheorghe cannot. Nevertheless, the discrepancy between the low production and high salaries cannot be maintained; it was alright before the elections, but it isn't after. And here came the saving idea: Decree a six-month moratorium on salaries; in other words, no one may demand a pay raise for six months. Also good, we said; we must give the government time to take measures to increase economic activities. And if the measures are good and people are dilligent, in six months we can be back in business. But the government didn't wait; the very next day it announced a price hike for various products, including gasoline and paper. Which we translate as: Take fewer rides, read less, and work more. The intention is clear and the moral is simple. If further price hikes are in store—and there must be—in six months the pay raises given to some before the moratorium will be canceled by the higher prices, while for the others, their real salary will drop to a lower level than before the moratorium.

The problem is that the volume and value of the production, meaning the quality of products, can no longer be achieved by communist enthusiasm, but must be achieved by reorganizing production and raising its

technological level, which is to say, through investments in production and management technologies. No point in going on, the situation is already well known.

How will we buy these technologies? With lei? Let's be serious. With what we get for Romanian products in foreign markets? When we can compete with the quality of only a very few industrial products? With foodstuffs? Again?

Prime Minister Petre Roman was right, absolutely right, when he said that we need the assistance and cooperation of West European countries and even of the entire world, and that we must facilitate the penetration of foreign capital in the Romanian economy in order to get back on our feet, but being right is not enough, the developed countries must want the same, and unfortunately that's not exactly the case. They don't want to invest in Romania nor send us aid as they do with all the other East European countries. So far, the number of industrialized countries which have refused to put Romania on the list of East European countries scheduled to receive economic aid is 24. We wonder who else is left.

And why is this happening? If Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase is right, than the reason is lack of credibility concerning the motives connected with the events in Bucharest and the errors committed by the government in estimating and dealing with them. Which government, Mr. Minister? The one before 21 June? Didn't the president designate Mr. Petre Roman to form a new government? And didn't Mr. Petre Roman replace almost the entire cabinet?

So let's sum up. If we had anything against the old government, a measure has been taken and the government has been changed. What do we have against the present government? That it cannot issue a clear and frank interpretation of the June events? The mistakes it made in estimating and defusing them? How so? The present government can be excused, because on 13-15 June it was not yet involved... So with whom is the international community angry and on whom has it turned its back? Maybe Mr. Petre Roman can explain that, since in the 13-15 June period he was still prime minister, or Mr. President Ion Iliescu—the most involved and the best informed. Do we really understand whose fault it is that the industrialized countries refuse us the kind of aid they give the other East European countries? And if yes, what would be a solution to secure such aid, which we need badly and on which depends the fate of the Romanian economy and in fact, the fate of the entire country?

* Need for Strong Opposition Stressed

90BA0250A Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 24 Jul 90 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Corneliu Coposu, president of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party, by Serban Madgearu; place and date not given; first paragraph is DREPTATEA introduction]

[Text] NPP [National Peasant Christian Democratic Party] President Corneliu Coposu is back from Luxembourg, where he attended a conference of the Christian-Democratic International, followed by political contacts in Brussels and Geneva.

[Madgearu] Mr. President, we saw in the foreign press that you are viewed abroad as a much more credible and sympathetic ambassador for Romania than the prime minister or the foreign minister. You have just reported to your party's leadership bureau about the political contacts you had and the impressions you gathered in West Europe. Please do the same for the DREPTATEA readers.

[Coposu] I was invited to attend an international conference of Christian-Democratic parties in Luxembourg, which was attended by about 1,000 people, including seven Western prime ministers (Luxembourg, Italy, Federal Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, Sweden, and Norway), and chairmen or deputy chairmen of Christian-Democratic parties throughout the world (120). At the conference, after the solemn opening by the prime minister of the host country and addresses by other three premiers, we went on to the actual agenda, which had been organized to perfection by the Secretariat of the Christian-Democratic International. At the very first session I was invited to present the Romanian viewpoint; my material dealt with Romania's integration in the future united Europe. I took this felicitous opportunity to have talks both with Western state leaders and with very many chairmen of Christian-Democratic organizations from Europe and other continents. I had very fruitful meetings with the secretary-general of the European Christian-Democratic Union and the secretary-general of the International Christian-Democratic Union. They invited me to stop over in Brussels after the conference to examine other questions of interest to both our parties and their unions. After that I responded to an invitation from the chairman of the Swiss Christian-Democratic Organization. On that opportunity I also met with the many Romanian expatriates living in Geneva. Aside for the talks with the leader of the Christian-Democratic Party, I also met with the leader of the Swiss Radical Party (which is the largest Swiss party), who was also very obliging and assured us of his entire support.

We received firm promises from representatives of European Christian-Democratic parties for aid to replace some of the property destroyed on 13-15 June.

During my stay in Luxembourg, Brussels, and Geneva I was besieged by the local press, which was very interested in finding out details about the situation in Romania; I spoke on the radio and I made statements for television stations and newspapers who approached me. I found out that the NPP enjoys great sympathy in West Europe, and that all the Christian-Democratic leaders

felt compassion for it in connection with the unjustified aggression that deprived it of its entire campaign machinery, not to mention the emotional damage suffered. I also heard very many indignant protests against the attack on our newspaper, DREPTATEA. Westerners view attacks on and attempts to destroy a newspaper like those perpetrated in Romania as an unforgivable crime. Consequently, all the journalists expressed boundless indignation about what happened in our country, especially about the attempts to silence an opposition newspaper. Generally speaking, the atmosphere concerning our country is disastruous. The impression left by the June events in the West is unspeakable. There was never such firm and general condemnation of Romanian authorities as now.

At the same time I must note that I had an opportunity to see recorded tapes on Western television that presented a far worse situation than we were aware of in Romania. In point of fact, after 15 June the television of all major European centers featured a special TV spot about the events in our country. I saw it on Antenne 2 on French television, on Belgian Television, and on the Romande program in Geneva. Among other things, I also viewed the student demonstrations of 13 June. I watched that for nine minutes, which, as I was told, was three to four times longer than the time dedicated to it on Romanian telecasts.

I left the West with special feelings: on the one hand, with great pain for the serious situation in our country, considering its hopeless economy and lack of any immediate prospect of indispensable aid from the West. All those in a position to intervene in economic or political areas in behalf of Romania's interests said that as long as Romania, i.e., the Romanian authorities don't go back to a normal situation and show stability and credibility in deed rather than words, which no one believes any more, many avenues of economic cooperation will remain closed. Everywhere I pleaded for increased humanitarian aid to Romania. I explained that our situation is extremely difficult and that if this aid is cut, the population is doomed to even greater shortages. In the end, I think that there will be no obstruction in this respect, and that food aid to Romania will continue. On the other hand, the impression made by the 13-15 June events will determine political bodies friendly to us to help us replace the losses incurred by the NPP. I managed to establish numerous contacts with Christian-Democrats in Europe and other continents, and I hope that these links will develop not only to the advantage of our party, but to the advantage of the entire country. Some of the Christian-Democratic parties that attended the conference are government parties in countries which can help Romania.

I was asked whether we expect the current government to achieve a normalization of the situation; I said that, confronted by a unanimously hostile public opinion, the government will seek to normalize the situation, will cease the campaign of violence against the opposition, and will give up trying to annihilate the opposition parties and press, and that we will make at least some small steps toward Romania's integration in Europe.

[Madgearu] There appears to be a paradox in connection with the position of the West, but don't you think that we can help the government by adopting a more intransigent position? In other words, withdraw our Parliament members until the government provides firm assurances that it will never again permit "securitate-miners operations" like those in June, and until it unequivocally condemns such "initiatives." This may help the government make a decision along this line, thus allowing it to gain credibility and foster more normal relations with the civilized world. Moreover, we are reorganizing and rebuilding what was destroyed, something that requires enormous efforts, but there is no guarantee that in a few months time we won't once again be subjected to more of the same treatment.

[Coposu] The government is undoubtedly morally obligated to publicly disown all the attacks and to recognize at least at this 13th hour that it made a mistake out of demagogical considerations. I don't think that withdrawing the few members the NSF [National Salvation Front] allowed in the Parliament may be the best solution, because this is for the time being a good forum to point out at least the ommissions and errors of the authorities. It is surprising that government representatives have not found it useful to at least inform the international public, if not the Romanian, that it repudiates the attacks and acts of violence perpetrated, something that would have gained it at least a small measure of credibility in the West. But the government failed to do so, and what's more, it is delaying making the necessary repairs so that the opposition and the institutes of culture that were vandalized can resume their activities. I don't know what the current political leaders of the country can be thinking: I hope they have given up the extraordinary idea of dismantling the opposition, so as to be able to act unhindered by criticism or the normal censorship exercised by the opposition in any democratic state. I suspect that, like the rest of us, the government realizes how catastrophic our economic situation is; I don't think it sees any other solution but to achieve credibility in order to attract investments and thus be able to restructure our economy. It is surprising that it hasn't done so already, but I hope it is not too late to go back to correct its course and, in keeping with the government's own interests, show itself better disposed toward democratic opening and renounce the totalitarian methods used in the first half of June. And if it has come to this conclusion, I think that the government should halt the violence; I think this is the first priority which the government should consider and implement. Because we cannot continue a political life which is no longer carried out behind the "Iron Curtain," but in plain sight of the entire West. An opposition must exist. Without a strong opposition there can be no democratic government. In theory this has also been stated by responsible government members; but in practice these statements must be backed up by decisive

actions, which so far have not materialized. I hope we are going toward normalization; I cannot believe that after all that's happened the government may still intend to repeat the kind of attacks and violence we had to endure.

[Madgearu] You mentioned the united Europe of the future. Along this line, would it not be a good idea for the NPP to recommend a European confederation or federation beginning with a union with Hungary, considering that such a plan existed in 1933, of unification under King Carol's crown; at the time the plan could not be implemented because Hungary demanded a three-way union: the [Romanian] Kingdom, Transylvania, and Hungary; however, viewing Transylvania separate from the Kingdom was of course unacceptable. But if that idea were revived (even if it cannot be implemented very soon), would it not help considerably diminish—and finally eliminate—ethnic tensions?

[Coposu] The idea of doing away with frontiers has traditionally been one of the concerns of the NPP leaders. Already in 1926 Iuliu Maniu circulated abroad the idea of a Danubian Confederation designed to create an economic union among all the states along the Danube, as a first step toward European unity. At that time the plan seemed rather daring, but it did gain the support and approval of a number of important heads of state in the interwar period. That idea, which had become an obsession with Iuliu Maniu, was of course only the beginning of a European union. Now, however, this topic is on the agenda; all the civilized Western countries pursue such a European union through various methods, such as erasing frontiers and permitting a free communication between countries. Such a union would of course not affect in any way the traditions, culture, or specific traits of the respective nations; this is the solution of the future. The Luxembourg conference I attended considered this idea, of course in a configuration linked to the Christian-Democratic program. As for our relations with Hungary, I think that our party's program has the most progressive concept concerning the national minorities; when it was first launched on 1 December 1918 this concept was even more progressive than the provisions of the peace conference, which were strict enough with regard to minorities rights. From this viewpoint we have no quarrel with the Magyar Democratic Union [UDMR] or with the programs of the democratic parties in Hungary, with which we intend to establish relations of cooperation. The danger of confrontations undoubtedly still exists in Romania, especially when such confrontations are secretly and artificially provoked to serve as a political diversion. We believe that in the future, achieving a harmonious cooperation between the Hungarians living in Romania and the Romanians must be at the top of the agenda of any party which pursues an honest future. We hope that the relations we already have with the UDMR [expansion not given] and those that will in the future be consolidated with the democratic parties, especially with the Hungarian Christian-Democratic Party, will help facilitate cooperation inside the country, too. This is an essential objective that should not be neglected for purposes of cheap demagoguery or electoral tactics.

[Madgearu] To come back to the domestic situation: It was clear before the elections and it is even clearer now that without an opposition as closely united and coordinated as possible, the danger of having the entire opposition annihilated is very great. What initiative do you think the NPP can take to foster a close cooperation among all the apolitical parties and groups?

[Coposu] Since the end of February and beginning of March we have been calling for a united opposition within which each group can preserve its ideological autonomy. This idea, launched more than three months before the elections, was well received abroad, but less so in Romania. There were subjective motives for that, but not enough to justify the reticence with which it met. We suggested that we all support a single opposition candidate in the presidential election—a person of unassailable authority from a moral and every other viewpoint, with a recognized prestige and record in the struggle against the dictatorship, supported by all the political opposition groups. I must admit that that proposal failed so we could not present, as I think would have been ideal, a single presidential candidate, even an independent one. All subsequent attempts to unite the opposition were met with certain reservations. On 2 July we launched the idea of an opposition front whose only objective was to preempt the slide toward a new totalitarianism. I think such a front is both feasible and very useful. We also appealed to the apolitical groups. In my opinion, this is not the right time for an apolitical organization; this is the time for all active elements in Romanian society to take a political stand. The achievement of such a unity can be a real gain both for democracy and for our country's future. It can facilitate even economic cooperation with a West that would become more optimistic about the prospects of democracy in Romania. Of course, this does not depend only on us, just as our previous initiative did not. I would be delighted if we could establish relations with all the apolitical and student groups and the 52 democratic unions, whether they call themselves trade unions, forums, committees, or associations, and with all the political parties actively defending democracy, and of course with the elite intellectuals belonging to the Group for Social Dialogue or to other groups.

[Madgearu] What position do you think the NPP should adopt toward the government's program, which differs so much from the program we expected?

[Coposu] The NSF did not have a program. The program that the government presented was, as the prime minister honestly admitted, a combination of ideas culled from the programs of other political groups. Naturally, we cannot be against program ideas derived from our own ideology. Unfortunately, what is missing is not a program, but honest efforts to implement it. Obviously,

no one is as obtuse as to dismiss intentions that are good, valid, and opportune for the country's progress and the people's interests merely for the sake of opposition. We will never deny our support to objectives which coincide with ours. In point of fact, from the very beginning we supported the intentions initially declared by the NSF; we withdrew our support only when those intentions were contradicted by the NSF's actions. We would be delighted if the government respected and implemented that program. The government can count on the entire support of all the honest opposition parties when it comes to measures aimed at the country's interests. As for the composition of the government, it is very difficult to voice an opinion as long as its members have not demonstrated their administrative and governing abilities. We are dealing with new people and no one has a priori something against them. But I do have a few remarks concerning the composition of the government: In view of our particularly serious economic situation, I had expected the government to contain more economists, given the high priority of economic issues. Also, I was rather surprised to find that there are no women in the government, in spite of the fact that women have shown themselves capable of special achievements in all the areas. I am also puzzled by the absence of a representative of the minorities in the government, whose main task could have been precisely to handle the situation of the minorities from a key position. This situation will have to be discussed in government and a progressive appropriate law, capable of rallying the support of all the Romaians, will have to be worked out. The minorities issue is a very important issue that must concern our rulers and all of us. Our programs contains a solution for it. I repeat, we rule out opposition for its own sake; we will continue to oppose and criticize only the views or decisions that we consider to be against the interests of the Romanian people.

[Madgearu] This question concerns the party: The existence of objective and well-known factors prevented us from having a good organization. How do you think this problem can be resolved in the near future?

[Coposu] Indeed, we have to admit that we are still not well organized. Concerning the inner party situation, as in any powerful political organization—because we must stress our party's political strength is not what the authorities tried to make it out on the basis of the election results (not to mention that the elections were faked, that there were frauds, and that all the appeals, instead of being resolved, were left without any reply, something that is inconceivable in any civilized country) organizational matters are very important. But we must point out that in our country the organization practically ceased at the beginning of February when an extraordinary campaign of violence was launched against us, which prevented us not only from getting in contact with the public and having access to rural environments, where we were systematically met by gangs of bullies, but also from continuing the organization that began so promisingly in January; we will now try to continue organizing so as to reach the most remote villages, because we have a moral obligation to hold a party congress, which must be preceded by county congresses. We hope that this time no violent steps will be taken against us; we also hope to see an end to the dirty slander and disinformation campaign of the past few months. Even if the Front and the government that represents it are not interested in seeing us well organized, they must understand that it is in the interests of the country that the authorities should enjoy some credibility abroad, which it cannot obtain if it continues to use the same methods as until now against the opposition. As soon as we finish organizing we will call a party congress with the participation—as has already been promised—of representatives of all the Christian-Democratic parties of Europe and other continents.

[Madgearu] If all goes well, when do you think the congress will be held?

[Coposu] We hope it can take place at the latest in October.

[Madgearu] I have heard some claims against our party that it did not promote young people and did not attract enough prominent intellectuals. Do you think that by the time of the congress the young and middle-aged generations will participate more intensively in its organization?

[Coposu] Indeed, this is one of the major problems that our party is endeavoring to solve. Since the NPP was reactivated on 22 December, the small group of people who remained in direct contact under the dictatorship in expectation for an opportune moment to help change the sitution in the country, announced that the role of the old generation, which hoisted the flag, was to pass it on to the next generation. This is still our intention. I want to specify that at the 20 May elections the average age of our candidates was 37. The fact that the young people who were on the lists did not make it to Parliament was a consequence of electoral fraud. The 12 parliamentarians who were "allowed" to sit in on the NSF Parliament were the first ones on the lists, and it was only natural that they should have belonged to the older generation. Normally, the younger candidates would have made it, too, if it had not been for the electoral frauds. Anyway, we intend to integrate first the middle generation of 30-50 year olds, and of course, the younger generation, too, in top party positions. We would be delighted if young people, eager to act and capable of carrying on the NPP banner, made it to the highest level. This tendency will become evident at the next statutory reorganization. I think that despite the political vacuum of the past 45 years, the transition will proceed without too much disruption. We are pleased to see that almost 200 university members are active in our study groups; they have debated all of Romania's main problems and worked out the norms of our ideology for reorganizing the country, which we will present to the public. I want to add that during my talks in the West I received very encouraging promises regarding a considerable number

of scholarships and exchanges of experience for intellectuals and students within the framework of our party. I hope that by the fall we will be in a position to sent larger groups of people under 40 to Italy, France, and Belgium. With the assistance of Christian-Democratic parties we believe we can secure scholarships for young party members, so that they can be trained to run the party in the future.

[Madgearu] Mr. Corneliu Coposu, we want to thank you for this interview.

Illiescu Meets With TU Representatives

AU0308170390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1625 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 3/8/1990—Friday morning Mr. Ion Iliescu received at the Presidential Palace in Bucharest representatives of the National Free Trade Union Confederation.

The communique the Presidential Press Office released on the occasion shows: The current situation of the trade-union movement and the place of the National Free Trade Union Confederation of Romania within that movement were outlined. Emphasis was placed on efforts to organize the trade-union movement by branches of activity and by territorial units, as well as on concerns to turn trade union organizations into viable partners in the relations with the administration boards of economic units and institutions and with the local and central bodies of state power and administration. The need was stressed to create an adequate institutional and legal framework for the participation of representatives of trade union organizations in parliamentary activities. Furthermore, emphasis was placed on the usefulness of their presence in the Parliament's specialized commissions starting the current stage.

The confederation leadership expressed the requirement for the government's growing involvement in economic activities in this transition period so as to provide for a smooth operation of enterprises by creating organic links, set on economic levers and interests. At the same time, critical remarks were made of the government as it failed to explicitly inform public opinion of its intentions concerning the economic reform. An operational programme of transition, phased out by stages, was shown to be needed. Moreover, it was stressed that the social-protection steps to be taken over the interval should be made known.

Discontent was expressed at the insufficient and non-rhythmical supply of the population with foodstuffs and consumer goods and it was requested that a governmental programme for the supply of basic products to the home market should be ensured and its application followed up by specialized bodied, all while speculation, corruption and parasitism are firmly fought against.

The National Free Trade Union Confederation of Romania expressed their concern over the substantial reduction of activities in all socioeconomic areas owing to the failure to use work time integrally, to technological indiscipline, to theft from public property and deteriorated labour relations. In that context, they reiterated the support of trade union organizations to the government's efforts to fight those anti-social phenomena.

It was stressed that relevant ministries should assume specific duties to provide for the continuity and growth of trade-union cultural and sporting activities, by allotting the funds necessary for the equipment, expansion and updating of the material base included.

President Ion Iliescu pledged to support the constructive dialogue between trade-union organizations and the bodies of state power and administration with a view to solving the problems that were tackled.

Kiraly Elected Head of Ethnic Minorities League

AU0408193390 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 29 Jul 90 p 1

[Text] The League of the Organizations of National and Ethnic Minorities in Romania was set up yesterday, 28 July. This is a consultative organization created to defend human rights and the individual and collective rights of national and ethnic minorities. Given that the founding organizations are preserving their full organizational independence, the main goals of the League will be achieved through: consultations and cooperation; the legal representation of the component organizations and their members before the state bodies; various forms of collaboration; and the establishment of ties with similar organizations abroad or belonging to the UN system. The statement published by the League emphasizes the desire of its members to contribute to "building true and stable democratic structures in our country, and, in this respect, to achieving political and legal equality among all citizens, without any kind of discrimination," as well as to "deepening coexistence and mutual interest and strengthening trust between the Romanian people and other national communities in our country."

The founding declaration is signed by representatives of the Magyar Democratic Union of Romania, the Democratic Union of Serbs in Romania, the Bulgarian Democratic Union, the Democratic Union of Romanies in Romania, the Federation of Jewish (Mosaic) Communities in Romania, the Magyar Independent Party of Romania, and the Smallholders Party in Romania. Mr. Karoly Kiraly was elected president of the League's provisional leadership.

The League is open to all other organizations that might want to join it.

Youth League Meets in Bacau, Discusses Issues

AU0308170190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1632 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 3/8/1990—The Youth League of Romania held a general meeting in the town of Bacau (central Moldova) over August 1-3.

The agenda included inter alia: Improvement of organizational structures, adoption of the income and expenditure budget, analysis of the current stage of relations between the league and the state, application of the decree-law on the creation of youth foundations, stage of operations to take over the patrimony of the former organization of the Union of Communist Youth.

The rules of the youth foundations of Romania were analyzed to identify a formula providing for the efficient run of activities.

Law on Reorganizing State Economic Units

AU0308180790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1645 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 3/8/1990—Enacted by Parliament and promulgated by the president of the country, the law on organizing state economic units into autonomous companies and commercial societies marks, in a very relevant way, the beginning of economic reform in Romania, says a communique issued to ROMPRES by the Reform and Public Relations and Information Board.

In consideration of its deep-going implications for economic activities and of its special importance for the provision of conditions to secure the operation of enterprises according to market-economy terms, we consider that this law should be applied at a fast pace, through concerted efforts and with a full sense of responsibility.

We believe, the communique shows, that the application of this law calls for stepped-up actions to survey and estimate the wealth of state-run economic units. As these operations are drawing to an end relevant ministries should mobilize all competent individuals to work out studies for each particular case and should establish forms and methods to model large enterprises according to the principle of operational autonomy, to retrain these enterprises according to the exigent demands for environmental protection, and to organize them as autonomous units or commercial companies. With these studies as a basis, the ministries will submit to the government draft resolutions on the creation of autonomous units and commercial companies, according to the law.

Until the law on commercial companies—which has already been submitted to Parliament—is adopted, state-run economic units will turn into commercial companies according to the dispositions in the current Romanian Commercial Code. As for companies with limited responsibilities, they will be created according to dispositions normally applied in such cases.

Government Discusses Industrial Production

AU0308202390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1840 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 3/8/1990—A meeting of the Romanian Government took place on August 3, when the achievement of industrial production and several draft resolutions of the government were discussed.

July's results were shown to be unsatisfactory, more particularly in the extractive industry, metallurgy, machine building, chemistry and the light industry. Marketable production last month was 16 percent lower than planned. The planned production was attained only in the case of three of the 88 main products under daily surveillance. The poorest results were registered in the production of coal, ferro-alloys, non-ferrous metals, passenger cars, chemicals and readymades.

As for July's exports, they stood at the lowest level this year both in roubles and in hard currency.

The conclusion of the talks was that unless the situation in the economy improved radically and fast the pay fund could be seriously affected.

The government showed that the necessary raw material and energy for August and September existed to allow for economic activities to proceed according to the production programmes of enterprises.

In the latter half of the meeting, the stage of elaboration of normative acts was surveyed and it was stressed that the resolutions discussed during the government's previous meeting had not been finalized. Consequently, the sponsoring ministries will have to step up their finalization so that they may be submitted for approval.

Social Dialogue Group Requests End to Bad Press

AU0508192990 Bucharest "22" in Romanian No. 27/20 Jul 90 p 1

["Statement" issued by Group for Social Dialogue; place and date not given]

[Text] A concerted campaign of violent attacks and instigations has been recently launched by several Bucharest publications linked to the National Salvation Front against the Group for Social Dialogue. These attacks are not only against the Group as such, but also against each one of its members. There is no point in dwelling on the slanderous nature of the accusations themselves. However, we deem it necessary to draw the attention of the authorities to the absolutely groundless charges brought against the Group as a whole, which is denounced as an obscure source of all past and future destabilizing actions.

It is obvious to all lucid and well-meaning men that someone is implicitly calling for public revenge, by pointing to the so-called destabilizing factors, who should be gotten rid of through the well- known methods

available to them. In order to prevent the adoption of such a deplorable "solution," which is always a possibility, we call on those who are behind this campaign of slander to tone it down and lower its temperature to a degree where a civilized discussion of various opinions—a true social dialogue—can finally begin.

Bucharest Mayor General Ciurel Rations Sugar

AU0308140690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1331 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 3/8/1990—Taking into account the poor sugar supply in the capital of Romania as a result of transport and packaging problems but particularly of illicit trade in this basic food, sugar is rationed as of 6 August to a monthly 1.5 kg. per capita Eng. Stefan Ciurel, mayor general of Bucharest, announced.

The measure was taken in consultation with many union leaders and residents, he said.

Nastase's Message to Geneva Conference

AU0308202990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1920 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 3/8/1990—After the removal of the dictatorship in December 1989, our country is passing through a process of revival and renewal, certainly not without difficulties, in the spirit of the principles which the electorate confirmed through the free and democratic elections of 20 May 1990, reads the message of the minister for foreign affairs of Romania to the disarmament conference. Romania's fundamental options are democracy and pluralism, respect and full protection of rights and freedoms inherent to the human being, strengthening of the state of law, abolition of super centralized economic structures and transition to a market economy and, in its foreign policy, a wide opening to the whole world, in order to connect us with the great process and tendencies which are manifest on the international scene, the message further reads.

Present Romania is determined to contribute to and to integrate in the future European architecture on the basis of consolidation, development and implementation of Helsinki Final Act principles, that would enable to renounce blocks, to continue the disarmament process with the participation of all states, to ensure a full transparence in the military field, the development and the transformation of the CSCE into a European system of peace, security and cooperation, in close harmony with the global system for maintaining peace and international security.

The core of our foreign policy aims today at the general development of our relations with all states of the world, on the basis of the principles of morality and international law, the contribution to and the active involvement in international activities of immediate and long-term interest, the minister stressed.

This month Romania has the presidency of both the United Nations Security Council and of the disarmament conference. International peace and security, as well as disarmament, constitute complementary objectives of high priority.

Disarmament continues to be one of the major challenges facing mankind, an important, indispensable component of any stable system of international security.

Among the international bodies and structures for the examination and negotiation of disarmament and reduction of armaments, a special unanimously recognized place and responsibilities are bestowed upon the disarmament conference. This is the reason why we follow closely and lend our support to the efforts that are being made for the improvement of the activities and the increase of the efficiency of the Geneva conference, so that the latter can fully meet the legitimate expectations of the international community, in view of the mandate that has been granted to this negotiating body with universal capabilities. This is the more so in the present circumstances when positive and quick transformations and developments in Europe and other parts of the world must be reflected as fully and as quickly as possible in the proceedings and particularly in the results of the conference on disarmament.

The important reconsiderations at the level of the strategic military concepts and doctrines, which we are witnessing, the dialogue between USA and USSR in the field of disarmament, the results thereof until today, and the prospects of the sustained continuation of this process, the justified expectations in connection with the Vienna negotiations on the reduction of conventional armaments in Europe, the multiplication and diversification of confidence and securing building measures, the efforts for the reduction of the tension in various areas of the world, regarding the elimination of the conflict hotbeds, the ever increasing and successful recourse to the mechanisms of the United Nations, including the prerogatives of the secretary-general, all these are factors that characterize today's international climate which is more favourable than ever to the international approach in the field of disarmament and the activity of the Geneva conference.

Unanimous appreciation is granted to the efforts made within your conference for the negotiation of a universal convention on the prohibition and elimination of the chemical weapons. Romania is not only following closely and participating in the process of negotiation, but this year, just like other countries, has made significant moves, particularly in the field of the steps meant to increase the confidence and to encourage at the political level the achievement of such a convention. For

instance, as we have already stated in the plenum of the conference, Romania does not produce, does not have chemical weapons and does not intend to produce or acquire in the future such weapons. Also, Romania is ready to become an original party to a convention, with universal participation, on prohibition of chemical weapons. Animated by the genuine desire to contribute to the progress of the works for the elaboration of the draft of the convention on the prohibition and destruction of chemical weapons, the Romanian delegation has recently presented in a working paper of the conference complete data regarding the production, detaining or non-detaining, consumption, import or export of substances of the civil chemical industry, which could be of relevance for the purpose of the future convention. We hope that the progress already made in the issuance of the evolutive text of the draft of the convention, steps that will be expected from the countries presently in negotiations, will lead in the near future to an efficient universal settlement that should be fully encompassing and well balanced, including an efficient international control for the prohibition and elimination of chemical weapons.

Romania is also granting today the necessary importance to the other items on the agenda of the conference, among which those concerning nuclear disarmament and the prevention of the arms race in the outer space. By taking a firm stance in favour of a total ban on nuclear tests, Romania is accepting the principle of reaching gradually such an objective, welcomes any agreement of limitation of the underground tests and is ready to support any new steps in this direction. We were very satisfied to learn of the recent decision by the conference regarding the creation of an ad hoc committee on a nuclear test ban. We wish to bring our most specific contribution to the substantive consideration of this issue in order to finally agree on a ban on all nuclear tests. In the same spirit, my country is participating in the works of the group of experts regarding the detection of nuclear tests by seismic means and in the experiments that are presently being made in this field.

We believe that now it is important to find the most appropriate ways and means of intensifying the activity and strengthening to the maximum possible extent the character of the Geneva conference as a negotiation body. Romania's foreign minister said.

Romania Reportedly To Export Nuclear Equipment

AU0308141090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1306 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 3/8/1990—Romania will join the group of nuclear material, equipment and technology exporters, Ambassador Traian Chelebeu, the new spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs told Thursday, August 2, Romanian and foreign journalists.

The spokesman also specified that the decision taken in Bucharest, and notified to the director-general of the International Atomic Energy Agency and to the members of the Club of London is part of the openness policy promoted by the Romanian Government after the December revolution.

Neagu's Visit to Moscow To Establish Ties

AU0408142690 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1900 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Text] Talks took place in Moscow between Mr. Romulus Neagu, secretary of state at the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and (Yuliy Kvitsinskiy), USSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, within the framework of regular consultations between the two ministries.

Answering a question asked by the Moscow correspondent of the ROMPRES agency regarding the content of the talks held in Moscow, Mr. Romulus Neagu said: The agenda of the talks included three large groups of problems: bilateral ties; an exchange of views on the international situation; and an exchange of views on the economic and political situation in our country.

During the discussion of political issues, the sides emphasized the importance of the first contact established between the two heads of state two months ago. The Soviet side wanted to know when Romanian President Ion Iliescu will act on the invitation to pay an official visit to Romania, an invitation extended to him by President Mikhail Gorbachev. The Romanian side will reply to this question as soon as possible; both sides agreed that the most convenient period for a summit visit would be next fall.

The Romanian diplomat also said that the sides discussed in detail the problem of Romanian-Soviet contacts and meetings at the governmental level. Mr. Romulus Neagu said that a strong Romanian economic delegation headed by Mr. Anton Vatasescu will shortly arrive in the Soviet capital to concretely examine new problems arising from the process of decentralization and from the decision made by both sides to calculate all transactions in convertible currency as of 1991. This would be a good basis for preparing the forthcoming visit to Moscow of Romanian Prime Minister Mr. Petre Roman, for talks with Mr. Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

The Romanian secretary of state emphasized the desire of the Soviet side to further develop Romanian-Soviet relations at a higher level; he himself was in a position to ascertain this with great pleasure at all levels at which he had contacts. The fact that we are neighboring countries and are engaged in a similar process of transition from a strongly centralized economy to a modern economy is to our great advantage. The fact that we are neighbors is particularly to our advantage, as we are large importers of raw materials and exporters of manufactured products.

The Soviet side, Romulus Neagu said, agreed to continue to deliver the contracted quantities of raw and energy materials in return for a number of products that have become traditional in our exchanges. Likewise, a number of agreements were concluded to encourage the free flow of persons and individual travel. Until now, the level of Romanian-Soviet tourist exchanges was approximately 100,000 people for each side. At this time, both sides ascertained that a figure of 150,000 people for each side could be reached. They also agreed to simplify border crossing formalities, in order to develop small-scale border traffic.

During the talks, Mr. Romulus Neagu said in conclusion, the sides exchanged constructive views on topical international issues. Both sides noted that in a short while, in just a few more months, a foundation will be put on a new structure of security and cooperation in Europe. Both sides pointed out their particular interest in the content of the declaration to be worked out between NATO and the Warsaw Pact, a document which is seen as an accord between the countries belonging to the two alliances to eliminate bloc discrimination. In this respect, the provision worked out at the latest session of the Warsaw Pact Consultative Political Committee, according to which the countries of the two military alliances no longer consider one another as enemies —a provision which was also endorsed by NATO at its London meeting—is of particular, even historic importance. This has profound implications, conducive to eliminating barriers to free economic exchanges, ensuring free access to scientific-technological achievements, and renouncing military actions by both sides, so that trust can acquire a sure and solid foundation throughout Europe. The Moscow, meetings were an opportunity for a broad exchange of views on all aspects of Romanian-Soviet ties, Mr. Romulus Neagu said in conclusion.

Transylvanian, Moldavian Parties Merge

AU0308135390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0915 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 3/8/1990—Representatives of the National Unity Party of the Romanians in Transylvania and of the Romanian Popular Front of Moldavia decided, Thursday at Iasi, to merge on the strength of the sameness of their ideals, programmes and interests. The leadership of the two parties agreed that the new political party founded on the sociocultural principles of the Vatra Romaneasca Union be named "the National Unity Party of Romanians" with headquarters in Brasov.

The merger act was signed by the presidents of the two parties, Dr. Al. Ioan Crisan and Stefan Prutianu.

SSR President Calls for Broader Ties

AU0308135190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0919 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 3/8/1990—We stand for broader and closer relations with Romania in all fields, especially in culture and schooling, said Mircea Snegur, president of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Moldavia, in an interview with the Romanian television. Clearly, we will be faced with many difficulties in reverting to the Latin alphabet unless Romania assists us. We are short of school books, we are short of scientific books in Romanian, we are short of stage managers. I am glad that our talks ended in about 300 scholarships given to our students to learn in Romania. I agree with the minister of culture's idea on a cultural confederation of the two countries. We also favour broader economic ties, the foundation of joint ventures. Yet, spiritual, kinship relations are the basis. We are concerned with a border-crossing relaxation any time, just like between civilised countries, not on "flower bridges" days. I can tell you that the Foreign Affairs Ministry of the Republic of Moldavia is working on this matter in close contact with Romania's respective department. And I can also tell you that Moscow supports us in this. Moreover, there are checkpoints on the union's western border that were closed by decree not long ago, yet border-crossing between our two countries has remained unchanged on our request.

Delegation at News Conference

AU0308160690 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1500 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Text] A news conference was held today at the Headquarters of the National Commission for Standardization, Metrology, and Quality, which was attended by the president of the commission, Minister Secretary of State Niculae Dragulanescu, and a delegation of a similar institution from the Moldavian SSR led by Mr. Sergiu Croitoru. The aim of the visit of the delegation from Soviet Moldavia was to establish measures to finalize the documents drafted by the two institutions.

Culture Minister Favors Confederation

AU0308134390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0615 GMT 3 Aug 90

["The Banks of the Prut: For a Cultural Confederation Between Soviet Moldavia and Romania"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 03/8/1990—I think that my new meeting with the Romanian minister of culture, Mr. Andrei Plesu, can be a chance of achieving a complex programme of cultural relations, and prolific exchanges, stated to "CONTEMPORANUL" weekly the minister of culture and denominations of the Moldavian SSR, Ion Ungureanu.

I had the idea of creating a cultural confederation between Soviet Moldavia and Romania meant to make the best of all contacts in the field of culture and education, the dignitary went on. We need cooperation, interchanges of students, theatre companies, exhibitions so that spiritual and cultural assets may move without any restriction. We experiment many-sided relations at the level of cultural associations, creative artists' unions, academies, churches, publishing houses, the press, the radio and the television.

In that context, Mr. Ion Ungureanu referred to the need to integrate the artistic forces in the Moldavian SSR into the theatrical movement in Romania, mentioning that he invited great Romanian artists (Catalina Buzoianu, Alexa Visarion, Dumitru Lazar Fulga, Sergiu Tudose) in order to organize a selection contest for the future company of the National Theatre of Kishinev.

Druc Calls for Greater Cooperation

AU0608110590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0930 GMT 6 Aug 90

["The Banks of the Prut—Premier Mircea Druc's Interview"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 6/8/1990—Asked during an interview with the Romanian Television about the development of the relations with Romania and their future, the premier of the Moldavian SSR, Mircea Druc, said inter alia:

I personally am waiting for nothing from Romania or, better said, am waiting for too much from Romania. I am waiting for Romania, in short time, to re-integrate definitively in the European context. I'd be very happy if Romania was admitted to the European Economic Community. I'd be very happy if Romania received the most favoured-nation clause. I'd be very happy if Romania became for us what West Germany is for East Germany. My outlook derives from the fact that we are a single nation but two Romanian states. I am waiting for Romania to become a prosperous country as it deserves to be, because I believe in the Romanian people's genius be it on one side or the other of the Prut and only successes in that prosaic sphere—the economy can bring about the great joy, we want Romania to become happy.

Referring to the collaboration between the two economies, he said that a great effort is required on behalf of both sides to set up joint ventures in all spheres of practical activity. Not only because we have affinities or the same historic roots but also because the conditions were such that we have developed in different context for fifty years and now you lack what we have and we lack what you have. Therefore it would be a mutually advantageous collaboration. I'd like to accomplish—and great hopes are here in Kishinev in that respect—the first convention I have signed with Mr. Petre Roman, Romania's prime minister. It refers to constructions in Kishinev of flats and cultural and social units. This programme would be for us not only a school of construction but also a great help. We invite the Romanian businessmen to participate together with us in the privatization of tourism and services.

We'd like to exchange scientists, medical and laboratory staff, students. The joint ventures and the advancement towards the East would give Romania the possibility that the Romanian goods circulate with our help up to the Urals, to the Pacific.

I could speak hours on end about the possibilities of collaboration between us. The possibilities are huge and history will not forgive us if we do not use them to the best, Premier Mircea Druc said in conclusion.

Book on Transylvanian History Published

AU0208171590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1530 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 2/8/1990—The private publishing house "Globus" in Bucharest has put out "The Ghost of the Hungarian Empire and the European Home," by Raoul Sorban, an art critic and historian with a long-standing university career.

Born in Transylvania and having lived there during the Horthyst-fascist Hungarian occupation of northern Transylvania (1940-1944) the author recalls "those terrible years" born out of Hungarianism and the doctrine of "political immorality," years when he personally helped save the life of numerous Jews.

The final section of the book prints a list of "Hungarianist" revisionist books on Transylvania and the ethnic Hungarians of Romania (110 titles brought out in the years 1988-1989), which are part of the neorevisionist campaign which, says octogenarian Raoul Sorban, "caught the Romanian people and state off balance owing to four decades of disinformation and scientific and propaganda inactivity."

Canadian Company Denies Reports on Cernavoda

AU0308160990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1501 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 03/8/1990—Mr. Mac Kellor, director in charge of relations with the press of "AECL Candu Ltd." of Toronto denied news items in the Canadian press about the so-called atrocities occurred on the site of the Candu reactor in Romania.

After a visit to Romania, Mr. Mac Kellor published an article in the Canadian newspaper "THE GLOBE AND MAIL" denying the calumnies about the site of the nuclear power plant of Cernavoda showing inter alia that the working and living conditions on that Candu reactor site were difficult but that "they are far from being inhuman." The author of the article specifies that the project was the aim of attacks by a group of Hungarian nationalists gathered in the Hungarian Foundation for Human Rights.

Mr. Kellor writes that he saw dwellings about which it was said to be subhuman but which resisted the recent earthquakes in Romania, that they were inferior to the Canadians' dwellings but not miserable.

Dan Martian Receives Libyan Ambassador

AU0308160790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1508 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 03/8/1990—The speaker of the Chamber of Deputies Dan Martian received on Friday morning Muhammad Baruni, secretary of the People's Bureau of the Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah to Bucharest, on ending his mission in Romania.

Reference was made on the occasion to the fine friendly and cooperative ties established between Romania and Libya, to the contribution the parliaments and parliamentarians of the two countries make to their development.

More Than 700 AIDS Cases Reported

AU0208171390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1600 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 2/8/1990—As many as 741 cases of AIDS—of which 687 in children an 54 in adults—were registered in Romania until August 2, 1990. In the case of Romania, the AIDS virus was transmitted through blood transfusions. That is why, the major concern of the Health Ministry is to get equipment and the reactives needed to test donated blood. Owing to the efforts that have been made and to the currency received from the government, such equipment was bought and distributed to 13 blood centres. To fully attain that target, which is also enshrined in the national AIDS programme, the Health Ministry signed a contract with "Welcome," a British Company, for 40 laboratory equipment, 1.5 million AIDS tests an 1.5 million B hepatitis tests.

Iraqi Invasion Draws Government, NAM Response

Loncar: NAM Influenced Arab Stand

LD0408215590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1957 GMT 4 Aug 90

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Aug (TANJUG)—For the first time in postwar history, it has happened that the two superpowers, all members of the UN Security Council, the Nonaligned Movement [NAM], and the Arab League have the same stance on one event.

This was stated this evening, in connection with the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, by Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for foreign affairs, on Belgrade Television.

As president of the movement, Loncar said, we needed to react immediately. All ambassadors were presented with the statement, which was not only a statement on behalf of the Yugoslav Government, but also of the president of the Nonaligned Movement. In the statement this brutal intervention is condemned and a request is made for unconditional withdrawal and recognition of the legal authorities and Kuwaiti sovereignty.

The ambassadors decided that the statement corresponded to their convictions. At the same time, in New York 28 ambassadors and representatives of the Nonaligned countries agreed that the statement by the president (of the movement) stand as the statement of the movement's Coordinating Bureau.

To a large extent, this statement, Loncar added, prejudged the stance of the Arab League.

This organization initially had difficulty in reaching a common standpoint, but after contacts by our federal secretary and ministers in Cairo, the view prevailed that the Arab League should also adopt the same stance.

Loncar also had talks with the U.S. and Soviet embassies, the representatives of which welcomed Yugoslavia's decision to act in its own name and as president of the movement.

To the question of whether all this will be sufficient to annul the effects of the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait, the federal secretary replied that time would tell, but he expressed the conviction that what has been undertaken so far would be a powerful factor toward this end.

Presidency Condemns Invasion

LD0308140590 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1207 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Aug (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav State Presidency today condemned the use of force and violation of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of a non-aligned country, and called for an unconditional withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait, as a statement released after the session of collective Yugoslav head of state set out.

The Yugoslav State Presidency underscored that all international disputes must be resolved by peaceful means, through talks. It set out that Yugoslavia would be fully engaged along those lines in the United Nations and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, bearing in mind the responsibility it has as the current chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement.

Castro Message to Jovic on 'Conflict'

LD0308173590 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1554 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Text] Havana, 3 Aug (TANJUG)—Cuban leader Fidel Castro has asked that Yugoslavia, as the chairman of the Non-aligned Movement, take an urgent action to stop the "Iraqi-Kuwait conflict," as Iraq's invasion of Kuwait is officially described in Havana.

In a message to Yugoslav President Dr Borisav Jovic, Castro offered Cuba's services towards peaceful resolving of the conflict.

The Cuban leader warned of a possible increase in the military presence of the United States and some of its allies in the Gulf region, as well as of a "possible aggression on Arab countries."

Castro assessed as "unadmissible the use of force in international relations."

The Cuban Government has also called on Baghdad to withdraw its troops from Kuwait and open negotiations aimed at the settling of the conflict within the Arab League.

Party Leaders React to Markovic Party Formation

AU0508201090 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 31 Jul 90 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Leaders of Political Parties on Markovic's Alliance of Reform Forces of Yugoslavia: Respect With Reservations"]

[Text] The move by Yugoslav Premier Ante Markovic, promoting the alliance of reform forces of Yugoslavia, that is to say the FEC's [Federal Executive Council] party, on Mount Kozara yesterday [30 July], caused (different) reactions among our numerous political parties and their leaders.

—It appears that what Federal President Ante Markovic has offered is at present the only and the best way to preserve Yugoslavia and, at the same time, to come closer to developed Europe and the world. This was stated by Radosav Davidov, president of the Initiative Committee of the Party of Yugoslavs of Novi Sad. The program orientations of the Party of Yugoslavs almost entirely coincide with what Markovic has offered, and therefore, Davidov said, we will most certainly join this alliance.

—Ante Markovic, like any other citizen, has the right to found his own party, said Kosta Cavoski, president of

the Executive Committee of the Democratic Party. I wonder, Cavoski added, whether the premier had previously left the League of Communists of Croatia-Party of Democratic Changes. If he has not left the League of Communists, how does Markovic have the moral right to found a party and invite people who have never been members of the League of Communists to join it, Cavoski asked.

—The party of the federal government is currently the most acceptable political grouping. This was the personal view of Andras Agoston, president of the Democratic Alliance of Vojvodina Hungarians. He expressed the belief that once the Democratic Alliance of Vojvodina Hungarians acquainted itself with the future organization of this party, it would join its activities.

—The Main Committee of the People's Party of Belgrade, as stated by its member in charge of the party's information and propaganda, Milan Paroski, thinks that Ante Markovic has abused his position as president of the federal government and organized his own party's campaign at the state's expense, and that he "must be prevented from taking part in elections because he was given the mandate of president of the FEC by the League of Communists." He said that the Main Committee of the People's Party would like to know, among other things, why the president of the FEC did not deliver his political speech in Zagreb, where Yugoslavia, which he is defending so much, is shaken by the threats of Franjo Tudjman.

—With his speech on Mount Kozara, Markovic made a free advertisement for his future party, while we in the opposition cannot even dream about something like that. This was stated by Veljko Guberina, president of the Radical People's Party. I would like to know why Markovic, who came to his present position as a Croat cadre, did not announce his plan to found a Yugoslav party at some meeting in Croatia rather than in Bosnia. The premier should have done this in those parts of the country in which Yugoslavism is under the most threat. He had the opportunity to do so in Croatia on 27 July, the Uprising Day of Croatia, Veljko Guberina said.

—The way the president of the FEC wants to found his own party is not correct. In every democratic state a party, or a coalition of parties, which wins the elections receives the mandate to form the government. I do not know of a case in the world where a government is founding its own party. This was stated by Dr. Scepan Uscumlic, member of the Main Committee of the Socialist Party of Serbia. It is paradoxical that Markovic, who was given the mandate to form the government as a member of one party, should now form another party. It is nice that the government is Yugoslav-oriented. It was not difficult for it to promote itself in front of the people from Krajina, but why did Markovic not say anything about Kosovo, Tudjman's Croatia, separatist Slovenia, and Muslim fundamentalism, Uscumlic stressed.

—The Democratic Socialist Alliance of Bosnia-Hercegovina is ready to carry out negotiations and form a coalition with all those parties which support the program of the FEC, including the party of reform forces, which FEC President Ante Markovic intends to found. The program foundations of the Democratic Alliance of Bosnia-Hercegovina, according to its president Dr. Mirko Pejanovic, are based on the FEC's program of economic and social reforms. The readiness for cooperation and joining the party of reform forces stems from the fact that Markovic is offering guarantees for Yugoslavia's cohesion and its inclusion in Europe.

—Party of Democratic Action President Alija Izetbegovic regards the intention of the president of the FEC as a little bit unusual. In his opinion, it is unprecedented for a government to found its own party. It should be the other way around. Izetbegovic does not doubt that the party of reform forces will have the support of the public, especially the Yugoslav-oriented public. He is of the opinion that Markovic should have first resigned and then formed a party.

—Serbian Renewal Movement President Vuk Draskovic said that one should distinguish between two things concerning Markovic's speech. Markovic's speech itself was sensible and civilized in contrast to the unfortunate iconography with the pictures of Tito and old flags, something that cast a shadow on everything. There is no road to Europe from the places where people carry the pictures of Broz and sing revolutionary songs. If this party (the party which Ante Markovic intends to found) has its foundations on something that has been buried forever, then everything is clear, Draskovic said.

—The chief secretary of the Croatian Democratic Community, Miljenko Zagar, said that the community's view concerning Markovic's party is that "everybody in Yugoslavia is entitled to found a party." However, Zagar observed that the question of the efficiency of and justification for certain parties is a very important thing. We think that what Markovic is founding now is, after all, a thing of the past and retrograde. Salvaging the concept of Yugoslavia, regardless of how it may be adapted, will not produce the right results. One should strive for the democratization of mutual relations with the maximum rights of certain peoples and sovereignty. The concept of a federal Yugoslavia under the present conditions is a thing of the past.

—Gregor Golobic, member of the ZSMZ [Slovene Socialist Youth Federation]-Liberal Party of Slovenia, said that at present Markovic is the greatest Bosnian politician. Such an idea can only be promoted on the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina, because it would not

fare very well in other parts of the country. The idea is unacceptable because this party would attain power without elections.

—Vane Gosnik, vice president of the Slovene Greens said: "Markovic is trying in this way to join the struggle for power, but the idea itself is funny." One should consider this idea, Gosnik said, only if Markovic thinks that Slovenia and Croatia will establish confederal relations and other parts of the country will establish federal relations. Otherwise, it is nonsense that the premier should be wasting his energy in this way.

—Marijan Podobnik (Demos) believes that this idea is in line with Markovic's vision of as firm a federation as possible and that it is directly connected with the 130 percent increase in the salaries of the military officials. According to Podobnik, Markovic is trying to buy support with this increase, and the idea of an alliance of reform forces is unacceptable.

—Aurelio Juri, member of the League of Communists of Slovenia-Party of Democratic Reforms, thinks that Markovic's initiative, as an initiative of a politician who still sees the possibility of cohabitation, is legitimate, but that he personally doubts that it would enjoy great support in Yugoslavia at present.

Peterle Says Constitutional Amendments Necessary

AU0508145090 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 1 Aug 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Constitutional Amendments That Are Necessary for Sovereignty"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 31 Jul—"With the Declaration on the Sovereignty of the State of Slovenia, the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia adopted a decisive and key act expressing the joint will of all the political parties and groups of deputies in the assembly and the will of the Slovene people and citizens of Slovenia, signifying the beginning of the realization of the right of the Slovene people to self-determination and the implementation of the sovereignty of the Slovene state." This is how Executive Council Republican President Lojze Peterle began his introductory speech proposing the introduction of the procedure for amending the Slovene Constitution.

He mentioned the adoption of the republican Presidency proposal to begin framing a new constitution for the Republic of Slovenia, which will set the foundations of Slovenia as an independent and sovereign state. He added that along with the framing of a new republican constitution, one should also prepare new elements for a confederal treaty which will be offered and in "which the sovereign state of Slovenia, as an entity under international law, would conclude with other interested sovereign states, with which it would form an interstate, and not a state, community." He added that Slovenia will define proposals for long-range joint aims and major fields that would be regulated jointly in the confederation, proposals of joint confederal bodies, the manner of adopting and implementing joint decisions, and the cessation of the confederal treaty. He added that Slovenia will decide in a sovereign way on all its international links.

Peterle continued with the thought that the transitional perioú was very important and that in the assessment of the republican Executive Council, it was necessary to settle a number of complex questions even before the adoption of a new constitution so as to fully implement the declaration on the sovereignty of the Slovene state. For this reason, it is necessary to adopt amendments to the present Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia.

For a New Legal System

Explaining the substance of the amendments, Peterle said among other things:

At the constitutional law level, the new amendments to the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia should clearly state that the Slovene nation and the people of Slovenia realize a part of their sovereign rights in the Yugoslav federation only temporarily until the promulgation of a new republican constitution and the possible conclusion of a confederal treaty. In order to ensure the security of law until then, one should provisionally regulate the legal system which is composed of intertwined groups of federal and republican laws, which as a whole constitute the existing legal system in the Republic of Slovenia. On the basis of the principle contained in a constitutional amendment, the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia will have to determine by constitutional laws which federal laws or other federal regulations or their specific provisions will not apply in the Republic of Slovenia. This applies to those federal regulations that are contrary to the Constitution and the laws of the Republic of Slovenia that can no longer constitute the legal foundation for the newly established political and economic system in the Republic of Slovenia and that are not necessary for the functioning of the federation in this transitional period.

In the opinion of the Executive Council, one should adopt a restrictive approach and eliminate only those federal regulations which essentially hamper and impede the political and economic development of Slovenia; one should not dissolve or essentially change the legal system of Yugoslavia, which is indeed outdated and inefficient but nevertheless constitutes a consistent legal system that must be considered and used for the time being. In the opinion of the Executive Council, such a constitutional and legal approach is the necessary condition for the preservation of the principles of the rule of law and the law-governed state.

The Republic and Defense

The Executive Council also proposes an expansion of the constitutional powers of the republic in the field of defense, that the republic regulate by law the manner of

serving one's military service and other specific questions of military duty, and that the Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia appoint and dismiss the commander of the Territorial Defense of Slovenia. Despite repeated clear and resolute demands, buttressed by arguments, by the Republic of Slovenia regarding the military service and the Territorial Defense command, federal organs have consistently adopted a negative attitude toward all the proposals. Because of this lack of readiness by the federal organs, as well as because of the necessity to regulate urgent matters in this field in the Republic of Slovenia, the Executive Council proposes that the Republic of Slovenia begin to regulate these matters by normative acts, even in the transitional period, which is to say before the adoption of the new Constitution, for which purpose a constitutional amendment should be adopted.

Peterle said in conclusion that this proposal for amending the Slovene Constitution is the first step in a consistent implementation of the positions of this Assembly taken in the Declaration on Sovereignty at the beginning of July. He also proposed that the Assembly amplify its positions on recruits, considering that students are called up in September. A deadline of 8 August should be set as the latest date by which new dispositions may be expected from the Federal Secretariat for National Defense. Unless these are received, in September the Republic of Slovenia will not send all its recruits to serve in the Army. It will send primarily the students who, because of a lack of vacancies, could not continue their studies at a university or another institution of higher learning. The proposed amendment is necessary so that the Executive Council may continue to implement the Assembly positions.

The Executive Council believes that the matters are urgent and cannot be postponed. Therefore, it has used the right which it possesses under Amendment 88 to the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia and proposes to the Assembly of the Republic of Slovenia that it initiate the procedure for amending the Constitution of the Republic of Slovenia. When the proposed constitutional amendments are discussed and adopted, the Executive Council will present a full assessment of the consequences—legal, economic, and financial—which will proceed from the beginning in implementing a confederal status of Slovenia, Lojze Peterle concluded.

SFRY Assembly Refuses Debate on Agriculture

LD0408142690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1149 GMT 4 Aug 90

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Aug (TANJUG)—The Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly is not in agreement with the proposal of the Serbian delegation that today's session should only include in the agenda a debate on the situation in the sphere of agriculture, particularly the price and purchase of wheat. By a majority vote it was decided that this should be discussed during the chamber's next session.

The delegations of Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia, and Bosnia-Hercegovina stated that they are not prepared to discuss the problems in agriculture today because they do not have the stands of their assemblies, and some of the proposed solutions of the Federal Executive Committee affect material balance sheets.

FEC's Agriculture Policy Outlined

LD0408145290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1212 GMT 4 Aug 90

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Aug (TANJUG)—Aleksandar Mitrovic, Federal Executive Committee [FEC] vice president, informed delegates in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces today that the FEC has put forward several proposals for resolving the question of the purchase of wheat from this year's plentiful and high-quality yield of 6.1 million tons. The federal commodity reserves should, Mitrovic said, purchase a total of 600,000 tons of wheat, half by 15 August and the remainder by the end of the month.

The federal government plans to export a total of about 1 million tons of grain at the end of the year, when it is expected that wheat prices on the world market will be more favorable.

The FEC will liberalize the prices of flour and bread from 1 September, and it will not allow the import of wheat and flour until June 1991, provided that domestic producers do not create monopolies.

Assembly Adjourns; Debate Not Heard

LD0408163290 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1525 GMT 4 Aug 90

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Aug (TANJUG)—Today's session of the Chamber of Republics and provinces of the two-chamber Yugoslav parliament was discontinued even before the agenda was adopted. The chamber is expected to meet again some time between September 5 and 10.

The conflict broke out after the delegation of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia proposed that the session agenda include the situation in agriculture, especially the price and purchase of wheat. The majority was against this proposal, since delegations from other federal units did not have the stands of their asemblies, as their representatives said. Then the Serbian delegation asked for a 3-minute break for consultations.

The Break, which lasted over an hour, marked the end of today's session of this chamber because the delegates failed to return to the hall.

Chamber President Dr Miran Mejak informed reporters that the session is being postponed because it is not possible to coordinate stands under the standing orders of this chamber of parliament. Mejak explained that the delegation of the Province of Vojvodina, is a part, cannot participate in debates on other issues if agriculture is not on the agenda.

Serbia, Montenegro Seen as 'Two Serbian States'

AU0508180690 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28-29 Jul 90 p 13

[Unattributed TANJUG report: "Two Serbian States"]

[Text] Montenegro and Serbia are two Serbian states, and the Serbian feeling that has considerably declined among the Montenegrins should be revived. This was stated yesterday by People's Party President Novak Kilibarda in front of a few thousand people at a ceremony in the St. Archangel Monastery in Zemun.

This was the first festive ceremony in the St. Archangel Monastery, a former church that was turned into a monastery last March. Kilibarda's speech, which was often interrupted with applause, was preceded by a festive evening sermon.

Rejecting the reproaches that he is "selling Montenegro to Serbia," Kilibarda stressed that the Montenegrins must have their own state, and in case Yugoslavia disintegrates, Montenegro and Serbia must unite as two subjects on equal footing.

Kilibarda was introduced to those present as "a Serb from Montenegro." Speaking about "the situation in heroic Montenegro, the center of Serbianism and orthodox religion through the centuries," he said that after the war a war was declared on the freedom-loving Serbian awareness in Montenegro.

Concluding that "our church and our people," are peace loving, but that they will defend themselves if need be, Kilibarda said that "the leaders have been kneeling before one type of dictatorship for 50 years, and that the people no longer want such leaders or such a regime."

Tudjman Opposes Territorial Autonomy for Serbs

AU0308171390 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 30 Jul 90 p 5

[Unattributed report: "We Will Not Allow Any Territorial Autonomy of the Serbs"]

[Text] Franjo Tudjman, president of the Presidency of Croatia, has stated that he will recognize the borders of Bosnia-Hercegovina "as long as the present borders of Yugoslavia and its Constitution exist." "In the case that changes are made, we have said that only the local population can democratically decide on their fate," Tudjman said in an interview to the leftist Berlin newspaper TAGESZEITUNG.

Tudjman also added: "However, Bosnia-Hercegovina traditionally belongs more to the West on the basis of economic relations and communications."

Asked how he intends to solve the ethnic problems in Croatia, Tudjman pointed out that the "new democratic government has proclaimed the right of the Croats to sovereignty, but at the same time explicitly stressed that it guarantees all the civil and national rights to the Serbian people in Croatia."

However, he said, "territorial autonomy (of the Serbs) is out of question. We will not allow it."

Asked what he thinks about the Kosovo Albanians' demands for territorial autonomy, Tudjman replied: "On the basis of the present Constitution they should be granted it...on the basis of the rights of the peoples to self-determination I of course support such efforts of the Albanian people in Kosovo...."

Answering a question about the political consequences of the discovery of the mass grave in the Jazovka cave, Tudjman stressed the necessity of a final historical reconciliation. "We have a clear view on our war crimes: both sides contained idealists and those others. In Croatia, Croats fought for the freedom of their country under different flags. Even a certain General Franco recognized such a thing and buried fascist and communist victims together some 30 years ago. It is only on the basis of this kind of reconciliation that one can reach democratic society in which there are no warring sides any more," Tudjman said. He went on to say:

"I state that the Croats did not commit crimes any greater than any others did. The Croatian people have more, not fewer, war victims than the Serbs.... A monument should be erected to all the victims of war and one should finally understand that they were all a consequence of the historic situation...."

Tudjman said that "those who now search for graves so as to fan hatred in this way are obviously opponents of historical progress and of democratic changes." Asked whether a reconciliation would take place if the Croats and the Serbs both paid tribute at the graves, he replied: "Of course, this alone would be the correct way."

Answering a question about how he intends to solve the economic problems in Croatia, Tudjman placed "ensuring the economic independence of Croatia" foremost and pointed out that he aims at building a "society modeled on the example of the free world." "This specifically means: a recognition and encouragement of small entrepreneurship and the introduction of shares," he stressed.

Tudjman said that in his opinion, "Yugoslavia is possible only as a union of sovereign republics following the example of the European community that is arising," and he expressed his readiness for negotiations about an agreement on the Yugoslav peoples' future life together.

Great Interest in Joining Serbian Socialist Party

LD0208190190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1238 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] Pristina, 2 Aug (TANJUG)—In the last two days, since the process of joining the Socialist Party of Serbia started, over 1,000 citizens in Pristina have registered as party members.

As was stressed at today's meeting of the Pristina committee of the Serbian Socialist Party, interest in the party has been quite exceptional. Members of all nations and nationalities are joining the party, it was stated.

Kosovo's Kajdomcaj Protests Presidency Statement

AU0208190090 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] Hisen Kajdomcaj, president of the Presidency of Kosovo, and ethnic Albanian members of the Presidency reacted today to recent claims by the SFRY Presidency's press bureau on the reasons for the failure to hold talks between members of the federal and provincial Presidencies.

It is stated in the reaction that the reason for not holding the talks should be sought in the situation that has recently arisen in Kosovo, and the bureau of the SFRY Presidency is criticized for speaking one-sidedly about these reasons.

Along with the assessment that Serbia is continuing to implement measures which crudely undermine democratic relations and the letter of the law, and block the work of the organs and institutions of the system and the entire political and economic life, the SFRY Presidency is criticized because it did not find it appropriate to ask the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia to assess the constitutionality and legality of the republican laws which have been adopted and the measures which have been taken.

One must above all respect the political subjectivity of Albanians and all citizens in Kosovo, as well as of the province, as a constituent part of the Yugoslav federation and an equal participant in political currents and debates on the future structure of the country.

In conclusion, Hisen Kajdomcaj, president of the Presidency of Kosovo, and the ethnic Albanian members of this organ say that they expect that the SFRY Presidency will do everything to ensure that the Assembly and other provincial organs continue to function normally. This is also expected of other federal organs, primarily the Federal Executive Council, as well as republican organs, particularly the Assembly of Serbia.

Serbian Parties Discuss Constitutional Changes

AU0308193490

[Editorial Report] Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 1700 GMT on 3 August carries during its regular newscast an approximately three-minute talk by Milos Pesic, deputy president of the Radical People's Party [Narodna Radikalna Stranka], on his party's views on the proposed changes to the Serbian Constitution.

This is the third in a series of three-minute presentations, which began on 1 August, in which representatives of various Serbian parties talk in general terms about their party's opinions on the same subject. The first one was by Radivoje Lazarevic, member of the presidential committee of the Social Democratic Alliance of Serbian Youth [Socijal-demokratski savez mladih Srbije], and the second by Kosta Cavoski, president of the Executive Council of the Democratic Party [Demokratska Stranka].

Slovene 'Republican Party' on Links With U.S.

AU0408174290 Ljubljana NEODVISNI DNEVNIK in Slovene 21 Jul 90 p 20

[Unattributed boxed report: "Founding Congress of the Slovene Republican Party by the End of the Year: Slovenia—51st State of the United States!? The Idea Being Realized by Some Former and Present Businessmen: Program To Be Similar to that of the Republicans in the United States"]

[Text] Thirty years ago, when the Italians were receiving extensive American aid, some Italians were admitting half aloud and half in a subdued voice, some of them proudly and others with a kind of sadness in their voice: We have gotten out of the mess, for we are the 51st state of the United States.

Ljubljana, 21 Jul—Italy has not become a part of the United States, but perhaps the new Republican Party of Slovenia that is to be founded by the end of the year may succeed in doing this. More than 60 parties in Yugoslavia, about 20 of them in Slovenia, should be joined by a Slovene Republican Party with a program resembling that of the Republican Party in the United States.

What does this mean? As one can hear, this would be a spread of private enterprise and a renewal of the capitalist system; regardless of possible links with other parts of the country, we should join with the currents of West Europe and even more with those of the United States, not bypassing our emigrants across the "sea" and the rather strong support by the Republican Party in the United States.

These are in fact the basic aims, but the idea of the leading thinkers of this party, which is for the time being supposed to gather primarily some former businessmen and some who are still active, is to bring Slovenia closer to the Swiss model. This would be achieved with a greater utilization of natural resources, the development

of an ecologically clean processing industry, granting more emphasis to trade and to tourist links between the West and the East, and roping in American partners to a considerable extent.

It sounds incredible, but the party counts on "close ties and inclusion in the United States system, not excluding the possibility that Slovenia may become the 51st member of the United States."

Slovene Assembly Views Army Officers' Pay Raise

AU0308155990 Ljubljana NEODVISNI DNEVNIK in Slovene 31 Jul 90 p 4

[Boxed passage within the report on the Slovene Assembly session on 30 July by Alenka Brezovnik, Roza Erman, Milena Ule: "Colonels Have a Pay of 5000 German Marks"]

[Text] In an additional conclusion, the republican Assembly authorized our delegation to the SFRY Assembly Chamber of Republics and Provinces to lend its consent to the proposed law on a special federal tax on the turnover of goods and services for financing the Yugoslav People's Army in 1990, under the condition that it should put forward the objection to the taxation on bank loans and stock transactions, achieve the annulment of Article 10 of the law, and under the condition that the Federal Executive Council should promise to not propose the introduction of the special turnover tax for financing the Yugoslav People's Army in 1991. According to the law, there will be no additional tax, but the existing tax would be reduced and the burden on the economy would be reduced to the same degree.

In the Sociopolitical Chamber, Deputy Andrej Magajna suggested that, by the fall, the Republican Executive Council should prepare its stands concerning the extent to which Slovenia should finance the military's budget; for if we do not reduce army expenses, we shall not be able to help the economy.

Considerable excitement was caused among delegates by Aleksandra Pretnar's question if it is true that incomes in the Armed Forces will be increased by 130 percent, so, for instance, a colonel will receive 5,000 Deutsche marks [a month]—in dinars, of course—which is twice as much as the Assembly president. Janez Jansa explained that at the beginning of July, the federal secretary for national defense adopted a decree to the effect that personal incomes of active army officers are to increase three times in three months, which amounts to a 130-percent increase, and that a similar decision with respect to the customs and the federal administration is already in force. Marija Pozsonec was of the opinion that with the low workers' wages and with fees charged in secondary schools, we should resolutely oppose such incomes for active army personnel. Dr. Hubert Pozarnik added that Markovic is setting up a new party and has to ingratiate himself with the Army first, something which Pozarnik considers dangerous. Finance Secretary Marko Kranjec explained that the higher incomes of active army officers are not going to increase the budget, but the money will come from other sources envisaged by the law.

Poll on Popularity of Croatian Politicians

AU0508202590

[Editorial Report] Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian on 31 July on pages 19-22 carries the approximately 5,000-word report by Dejan Jovic on the results of a DANAS public opinion poll on the popularity of Croatian politicians.

The popularity of politicians is assessed according to "the scientifically established average sample of the population." The report does not state the size of the sample, nor does it explain how the poll was conducted. The results of the poll depicting attitudes toward politicians are stated in percentages and are summarized in one table as follows:

Name	Positive	Negative	No view	Change from last month
Stipe Mesic	69	15	16	-4
Franjo Tudjman	67	21	12	-9
Zarko Domljan	64	17	19	-1
Vladimir Veselica	58	19	23	+3
Vladimir Seks	55	25	20	+4
Ivica Racan	53	27	20	-8
Antun Vrdoljak	49	20	31	+5
Zeljko Mazar	43	26	31	-5
Vlado Gotovac	39	20	41	-2
Sime Djodan	38	42	20	+6
Ivan Zvonimir Cicak	37	29	34	+3
Josip Manolic	37	18	45	-5
Antun Vujic	36	18	46	-
Drazen Budisa	36	18	46	-
Vlatko Pavletic	36	16	49	-5
Stjepan Sulimanac	36	16	48	+6
Bernardo Jurlina	33	36	31	-1
Dusan Bilandzic	28	25	47	-7
Jovan Raskovic	13	66	21	-7
Jovan Opacic	10	65	25	-

Croatian Justice Body Bans Referendum for Serbs

AU0308190290 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 3 Aug 90

[(?Dusan Orujic) report from Knin; date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] On the occasion of the announcement of a referendum among Serbs in Croatia to decide on the formation of the autonomy of the Knin Krajina, the leaderships of several Serbian communes this afternoon

received an announcement from the Croatian Ministry of Justice and Administration which bans the announced referendum. Our colleague in Knin, (?Dusan Orujic), has the details:

[(?Orujic)] After the decision made by the Serbian National Council two days ago to hold a referendum among the Serbian people in Croatia to decide on autonomy, at 1520 [1320 GMT] today, the communes of Knin, Benkovac, Gracac, Dornji Lapac, Obrovac, and Titova Korenica received (?binding) instructions from the Republic of Croatia and the Ministry of Justice and Administration— which were signed by Dr. (?Branko Babce), justice minister—on the actions and operation of organs and services of the communes. The instructions include a declaration which bans the holding of any referendum in the aforementioned communes which would be (?in the context) of referendums on questions of either political or cultural autonomy in these areas until these issues are dealt with in a lawful way.

In the case of any action at variance with these (?binding) instructions, this ministry and other state organs will take the appropriate measures to establish the responsibility of the leading workers in the organs and services of the aforementioned communes.

The following is the stand of the president of the Serbian National Council: They do not have the power to ban a plebiscite among the Serbian people in Croatia and a referendum will be held.

Vojvodina Calls for 'Ban' on Grain Imports

LD0408115090 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0706 GMT 4 Aug 90

[Text] Novi Sad, 4 Aug (TANJUG)—The delegation of Vojvodina in the Chamber of Republics and Provinces of the SFRY Assembly will be able to continue the coordination of the second package of Federal Executive Council [FEC] measures on the condition that the FEC translates its intentions on the implementation of the agrarian policy into decisions.

This was concluded today at a session of the Vojvodina Executive Council immediately prior to the extraordinary session of the Vojvodina Assembly. The provincial government proposed to the Vojvodina Assembly that it should persist with its demand for the federal commodity reserves to purchase a total of 600,000 tons of wheat at a price of 2.5 dinars per kilogram, plus the cost of delivery and storage. The FEC should, as the provincial government proposes, ban the importation of grain cerials until 1 June 1991, not intervene in the market from material reserves until that time, and liberalize the prices of flour and bread.

It is also proposed that the FEC relax credits for wheat stocks.

Further on Assembly's Stand

LD0408120390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1100 GMT 4 Aug 90

[Text] Novi Sad, 4 Aug (TANJUG)—A delegation of the Yugoslav province of Vojvodina may resume coordination of a second package of measures carried by the Federal Government of Prime Minister, Ante Markovic, in case the government makes concrete decisions out of its intended implementation of agrarian policy—it was concluded at a special session of the provincial assembly today.

The same stand was taken also at this morning's session of the provincial government.

The assembly of Vojvodina further insists on that the federal goods reserves office should buy up 600,000 tonnes of wheat, not merely 300,000 tonnes as had been decided earlier. It also demands a price of 2.5 dinars per kilo of this wheat, and calls for recognizing the cost of take-over and storage of bread wheat.

The provincial assembly's rejection to authorize its delegation to the Federal Assembly to take part in the conforming of views on the federal government package of measures, as was sustained also by the assembly of the Republic of Serbia (which incorporates Vojvodina), has provoked a three-day blockade of the work of the chamber of the republics and provinces in the bicameral Yugoslav parliament.

The assembly of Vojvodina also calls for a ban on the import of wheat and flour by June 1, 1991, and for a decision that the Federal Office of Goods Reserves should not intervene before this date on the market by selling wheat and flour.

The Vojvodina assembly, as was pointed out, is not blackmailing either the Federal Government or the Assembly of Yugoslavia but only strives for the agricultural sector in the Yugoslav commuinity to enjoy the place it well deserves in a society now developing a market-based economy.

DELO: Markovic Part of 'Spectacle' in Kozara

AU0308113890 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 30 Jul 90 p 1

[Boris Jez "Topic of the Day" commentary: "Markovic's Combination"]

[Text] Ante Markovic has again shown that he is not only a great politician, but also an exceptional dramatist. Only he is capable of such fine feeling when it came to choosing the stage for a political spectacle such as the one in which he indulged on Kozara; and only he is capable of turning the clock back 10 years on such a stage. No other Yugoslav politician would have been more successful in giving such a performance at that moment.

Apart from that, the prime minister is sufficiently shrewd; among the delighted cheers of the socialist

crowd, not for a moment did he allow the performance to fall to the level of a mere promotion of an ordinary political party; he remained true to the his rhetoric all the time. His "alliance of reformist forces" supposedly is not seeking power at all, which certainly attracts everybody else, but is worried about the fate of the reforms and the fate of Yugoslavia in general! It is a fact that many people are ready to believe this; therefore, Markovic's "all-Yugoslav option" might considerably confuse the issues in the negotiations which will start among the republics and the remainder of the federal apparatus in the coming months. The prime minister himself is probably well aware of the controversy involved in founding a "government party," so it is better to interpret all this as his "saber rattling"— something he can certainly afford at this moment. The essence of his message is that he will not withdraw so easily, but that he should be included in any future Yugoslav configuration.

Perhaps he is right. If the erosion of Yugoslavia stops somewhere between a "loose federation" and a confederation, or a combination of the two, there will certainly be room for a rather authoritative joint government— and for Ante Markovic. If this does not happen, it would still be considered a success to keep the state together for a year or so—even if it is with "tricks" such as Kozara—thus providing an easier transition to the uncertain future.

Commentary on Markovic's 'Battle for Yugoslavia'

AU0408190190 Ljubljana NEODVISNI DNEVNIK in Slovene 31 Jul 90 p 5

[Branislav Milosevic commentary: "Markovic's Battle for Yugoslavia"]

[Text] Now, when national leaders have withdrawn from the streets into assemblies, the tradition of "the people entering the stage" is going to be continued by Prime Minister Markovic. In front of 100,000 people who gathered at Mrakovica on Kozara [mountain], Markovic explained the establishment of his own party, which would try to save Yugoslavia from disintegration through a battle for social reform.

Visibly excited by the delighted support of his backers and the advocates of Yugoslavia, Markovic expressed reformist ideas of the nineties with real-socialist words of the fifties. He was speaking about our victories and achievements, about self-management and socialism, about Tito, but not about the party, which the listeners greeted with the conviction that Markovic is the one who can "lead" them into a so-called happy future. This has been constantly promised to them so far, but its implementation has always been postponed at the last moment.

Speaking on Kozara, Markovic in fact already started the preelection campaign of his party, which would gather the forces oriented toward reform. He openly attacked all partial, national, and regional political programs and parties, which, he is convinced, are surpassed by the federal government program with its comprehensiveness and certainly by its high international legitimacy. There is no doubt that it will be very difficult to compete with such a program and that it would be more than naive to deny the legitimacy and legality of a party led by the federal premier, particularly if the attempts were to come from the community in which Markovic is setting up his party.

We may quite naturally expect that with the strengthening of Markovic's reform movement, tension will grow between the forces that are in favor of a loose state community and those headed by Markovic, which advocate its recentralization on the basis of a unified market and a strong central authority with untouchable powers.

For the time being it is difficult and uncertain to predict when this competition between the integrationist and fragmentizing forces in Yugoslav society will end, but it appears that the definition of the two chief opposing blocs has considerably reduced the scope of the extreme rightist parties and forces. The political struggle has moved to the center, which is to say to the natural foundation of any authority.

The founding of Markovic's reform party is the last opportunity to save the state community which is called Yugoslavia. If this political card shows it is weak, then it is difficult to believe that there would be any sense of saving Yugoslavia with forces that do not support reform.

Government Replies to Muslim Concerns in Capital

LD0408135'90 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1043 GMT 4 Aug 90

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Aug (TANJUG)—The competent organs of Belgrade and Serbia have reached agreement with the Committee of the Islamic Community and the mufti of Belgrade. The City Institute for the Protection of Cultural Monuments, however, has rejected the proposed plan because its scale would destroy the environment of the existing mosque, which is a cultural monument.

In the meantime, the Islamic community has changed its demands, and is now seeking the construction of a new place of worship which with its ancillary buildings would cover an area of approximately 12,000 square meters. The Belgrade City Institute for Planning has informed the city and republican Commission for Relations with Religious Communities that it is seeking an acceptable solution in keeping with town planning conditions and the scale of the request.

This is stated in the federal government's reply to a question for delegate Husein Hodzic on why for 14 years permission has been refused for the construction of a mosque in Belgrade.

In reply to another question from the same delegate as to why for 45 years no permission has been granted for the construction of a Muslim cemetery in the capital, it was said that there is no provision for allocation of plots according to religion in the building of cemeteries. The allocation of special plots for members of the Islamic community would place members of other religious faiths in an unequal position.

Regardless of the fact that all three cemeteries where plots for Muslims exist are closed for ordinary burials, at the request of the mufti of Belgrade permission is given quite frequently for the burial of deceased Muslims, Husein Hodzic was told in reply.

Defense Ministry: Officers' Pay Below Standard

LD0308154490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1056 GMT 3 Aug 90

[Text] Belgrade, 3 Aug (TANJUG)—In accordance with the law on "freezing" wages, the earnings of officers in the Yugoslav People's Army rose 32 percent in each of the last two months. Representatives of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense told TANJUG that, even with these increases, the personal incomes of officers in the Army are below the legal minimum.

The law on service in the Armed Forces states that the average personal income of officers may be from 2.6 to four times the average personal income of workers in the Yugoslav economy in the preceding month. In June, however, the average personal income of officers amounted to 1.94 times the average personal income of workers in the Yugoslav economy in May.

The Federal Secretariat for National Defense spokesman said that, with the June and July increases, not taking into account years of service payments, the lowest personal income for an active army officer was 5,624 dinars for a squadron leader. The highest was 14,991 for a colonel-general.

Radio Officials' 'Hasty' Dismissals Condemned

LD0208201290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1616 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] Pula, 2 Aug (TANJUG)—A hasty dismissal of the director and chief, and responsible editor of Pula Radio, without any consultations with municipalities covered by Pula Radio program broadcasts, does not only clash with proclaimed democracy, but also with usual norms of behavior in democratic societies. This was concluded today at a session of the municipal committee secretariat of the Croat League of Communists-Party of Democratic Change [Savez Komunista Hrvatske-Stranka Demokratskih Promjena, SKH-SDP] of Pula, in connection with examination of the latest cadres changes in Croatian Radio and the way in which they were implemented in Pula Radio.

It is not understandable that the Pula Radio Station, which was founded 30 years ago by Istrian municipalities, should lose its independence by a unilateral act of a republican body. It is also not understandable that Istrian sociopolitical organizations should be prevented from having any influence on the program policy of their own information medium. The Secretariat neither minds the changes nor new people in government and in prominent public positions, but it minds the way in which it is done.

The Pula SKH-SDP municipal committee secretariat proposed to all Istrian municipalities to examine the new situation. The Pula SKH-SDP Club of Deputies will be informed about the discussion to take stands in connection with signing an agreement with the Croatian Radio on financing the regional program in Istria.